OLIVER CROMWELL.

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THE

BRITISH PLUTARCH:

CONTAINING

THE LIVES

OF THE MOST EMINENT

STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, DIVINES,
WARRIORS, PHILOSOPHERS,
POETS, AND ARTISTS,

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. TO THE PRESENT TIME: INCLUDING A COMPENDIOUS VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, DURING THAT PERIOD.

A NEW EDITION,

CORRECTED AND CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.

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THE BRITISH PLUTARCH.

THE LIFE OF

HENRY BOOTH,

LORD DELAMER, AND EARL OF WARRINGTON.

[A. D. 1651, to 1693.]

EVERY generous Engliſhman, who is animated with a laudable zeal for the honour of his country, muſt feel a moſt ſenſible pleaſure from being introduced to the knowledge of the characters and memorable tranſactions of thoſe illuſtrious heroes, whoſe wiſdom, fortitude, and integrity, enabled them to ſhake off the yoke of tyranny and oppreſſion, and to ſtand forth, under the prince of Orange, as the glorious deliverers of their country. Of this number was the patriotic nobleman with whoſe life we open this volume, and commence an æra in the Britiſh hiſtory, diſtinguiſhed from all others by its important events, and their happy conſequences, which are experienced to this hour.

Neither the exact time of the birth of Henry Booth, nor yet any account of his infant years, remain on record: the firſt mention made of him being, "that during the life of his father, he was knight of the ſhire for the county of Cheſter, in ſeveral parliaments, in the reign of king Charles II." And in the houſe of commons he conſtantly ſhewed himſelf a firm oppoſer of arbitrary power, and a ſteady friend to the rights of the people. He exerted himſelf in ſupport of the bill of excluſion; and in the ſpeech which he made on that occaſion,

caſion, he endeavoured to prove (to uſe his own words), that "the next of kin has not ſo abſolute an inherent right to the crown, but that he may, for the good of the nation, be ſet aſide;" as all government was inſtituted for the benefit of the people, and not for the private intereſt of any particular family or individual.

He was very ſolicitous to have procured an act for the puniſhing thoſe who were known to have received bribes from the court, in the parliament which was ſtyled the Penſion Parliament, in the reign of king Charles II. In the ſpeech which he made on this ſubject in the ſubſequent parliament, he ſaid, "Breach of truſt is accounted the moſt infamous thing in the world, and this theſe men have been guilty of to the higheſt degree. Robbery and ſtealing our law puniſhes with death; and what deſerve they who beggar and take away all that the nation has, under the pretence of diſpoſing of the people's money for the honour and good of the king and kingdom?" He propoſed, that a bill ſhould be brought in, by which theſe hireling ſenators (who ſtyled themſelves, he obſerves, the king's friends) ſhould be rendered incapable of ſerving in parliament for the future, or of enjoying any office, civil or military; and that they ſhould be obliged, as far as they were able, to refund all the money which they had received for ſecret ſervices to the crown; or, in other words, for betraying their conſtituents. "Our law (ſaid he) will not allow a thief to keep what he has gotten by ſtealth, but of courſe, orders reſtitution; and ſhall theſe proud robbers of the nation not reſtore their ill-gotten goods?"

He oppoſed, with a becoming ſpirit, the unjuſt and arbitrary power, aſſumed by the privy-council, of impriſoning men contrary to law. He made alſo a long ſpeech againſt the corruption of the judges, in which he affirmed, "that in a variety of caſes they had ſold, denied, or delayed juſtice; that they had taken bribes, and threatened juries and evidence; perverting the law

to

to the higheſt degree, and turning it upſide-down, that arbitrary power might come in upon their ſhoulders." He therefore moved, that an inquiry ſhould be made into their conduct, and that ſuch of them as were found guilty might receive the puniſhment they merited. His defence of the bill of excluſion, and oppoſition to the meaſures of the court in other inſtances, rendered him ſo obnoxious to the duke of York, that by his influence he was committed priſoner to the Tower of London; but after ſeveral months ſtrict confinement, he was ſet at liberty. In 1684, he ſucceeded his father lord Delamer, in his honours and eſtates, his elder brother having died in his childhood. But the duke of York having ſucceeded to the throne the ſame year, under the title of king James II. he was ſoon after committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower; ſome time after he was admitted to bail, but was ſoon taken up again, and committed a third time priſoner to the Tower, on a falſe accuſation of high-treaſon.

On Thurſday the 14th of January 1685, he was brought to his trial in Weſtminſter-hall, before the lord-chancellor Jefferies, who was his perſonal enemy, and who was conſtituted lord-high-ſteward on that occaſion. He was not tried by the whole houſe of peers, though the parliament was then actually exiſting by prorogation; but by a ſelect number of twenty-ſeven peers, ſummoned by the lord-high-ſteward for that purpoſe. He proteſted againſt this irregularity; but his objections being over-ruled, the trial proceeded. However, he made ſo full and clear a defence, that the peers appointed to try him unanimouſly acquitted him.

After this lord Delamer lived in a retired manner in the country, much honoured and beloved, till meaſures were concerted for bringing about the Revolution, in which he very heartily concurred; and on the prince of Orange's landing in England, he, being ſolicitous to deliver his country from Popery and a deſpotic government, raiſed in a few days a great force in Cheſhire

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and Lancaſhire, and therewith marched to join that prince, who, on notice thereof, wrote to him the following letter:

" MY LORD, Hindon, the 2d December 1688.

" I have heard ſo worthy a character of you, that I am heartily glad to find you ſo frankly embarked in the ſame deſign with me; and you may depend on me to ſhew you all the kindneſs in my power. If your occaſions will allow of it, I ſhall be glad to ſee you at Hungerford next Friday night; but you muſt ſend me notice of your coming the night before your arrival, that I may direct quarters for you and your troops, and that my out-guards may let you paſs to me.

" I am, your moſt affectionate friend,

" PRINCE D' ORANGE."

On the prince of Orange's arrival at Windſor, in his approach towards London, lord Delamer, together with the marquis of Halifax and the earl of Shrewſbury, were on the 17th of December 1688, ſent by that prince with a meſſage to king James, to remove from Whitehall. Lord Delamer, though no flatterer of the king in his proſperity, was too generous to inſult him in this diſtreſs; and therefore at this time treated him with great reſpect. And James was ſo ſenſible of this nobleman's civility to him on this occaſion, that, after his retirement into France, he ſaid, " The lord Delamer, whom he had uſed ill, had then treated him with much more regard than the other two lords, to whom he had been kind, and from whom he might better have expected it." Mr. Walpole ſays, " that lord Delamer, who was thrice impriſoned for his noble love of liberty, and who narrowly eſcaped the fury of James and Jefferies, lived to be commiſſioned by the prince of Orange to order that king to remove from Whitehall; a meſſage which he delivered with a generous decency."

Out of the forces which were raiſed by lord Delamer to join the prince of Orange, a regiment of horſe was afterwards

afterwards formed, the command of which was for ſome time committed to him as colonel; and this regiment ſerved in Ireland during the war in that kingdom. On the 14th of February 1689, king William and queen Mary, being proclaimed the preceding day, lord Delamer was ſworn a privy-counſellor, and on the 9th of April following, he was made chancellor and under-treaſurer of the Exchequer. On the 12th of the ſame month, he was alſo made lord-lieutenant of the county and city of Cheſter. This laſt office, together with that of privy-counſellor, he enjoyed for life; but as to the others, he continued in them for about one year only. Mr. Walpole ſays, "He was diſmiſſed by king William, to gratify the Tories." However, it was not thought adviſeable to diſplace a nobleman, who had contributed ſo much towards the Revolution, in a diſobliging manner; and therefore he was, by letters patent, bearing date at Weſtminſter, 17th of April 1690, created earl of Warrington, in the county of Lancaſter, to hold to him, and the heirs-male of his body, for his great ſervices in raiſing and bringing great forces to his majeſty, to reſcue his country and religion from tyranny and Popery, as the preamble of the patent expreſſes it; and had likewiſe for the better ſupport of that dignity, a penſion of 2000l. per annum granted to him, which, having been paid to him only for the firſt half year, was afterwards ſuffered to run in arrear, and now remains ſtated amongſt the reſt of king William's debts, in a liſt of them which was drawn up at the command of queen Anne.

His lordſhip was thus characteriſed in a poem written in the reign of king William:

"*A brave aſſertor of his country's right:*
A noble, but ungovernable fire,
(Such is the hero's) did his breaſt inſpire.
Fit to aſſiſt to pull a tyrant down;
But not to pleaſe a prince that mounts the throne.
Impatient of oppreſſion, ſtill he ſtood
His country's mound againſt th' invading flood."

He died at London, on the 2d day of January, 1693, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and was interred in the family vault of Bowdon-church, in the county of Cheſter. He was a nobleman always illuſtriouſly diſtinguiſhed for his public ſpirit and his noble ardour in defence of the liberties of his country; and he thought patriotiſm eſſential to the character of a virtuous man. In his "Advice to his Children," publiſhed in his works, he ſays, "There never yet was any good man who had not an ardent zeal for his country." In his private life he appears to have been a man of piety, worth, honour, and humanity." He married Mary, ſole daughter and heireſs to Sir James Langham of Cotteſbrooke, in the county of Nottingham, Bart. and by this lady, who was of a very amiable character, he had four ſons and two daughters. His eldeſt ſon died an infant, and he was therefore ſucceeded in his honours and eſtates by his ſecond ſon George, earl of Warrington.

His works, which were publiſhed in one volume 8vo. in 1694, contain his "Advice to his Children;" an "Eſſay on Government;" ſeveral of his ſpeeches in parliament; fifteen ſmall Political Tracts or Eſſays; and "The Caſe of William Earl of Devonſhire." He alſo wrote "Obſervations on the Caſe of Lord Ruſſell," for whom he had a great friendſhip, and who, on the morning of his execution, ſent him a very kind meſſage, expreſſive of his regard for him.

*** *Authorities.* Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. II. Brit. Biog. vol. VI. 8vo. 1770.

THE

THE LIFE OF

JOHN TILLOTSON,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

[A. D. 1630, to 1694.]

THIS eminent divine, who became one of the brighteſt ornaments of the church of England, was deſcended from a family anciently of the name of Tilſton, of Tilſton in Cheſhire, the anceſtor of which was Nicholas de Tilſton, lord of the manor of Tilſton, in the reign of king Edward III. Our divine's father was Mr. Robert Tillotſon, a conſiderable clothier, of Sowerby, in the pariſh of Halifax in Yorkſhire, where he was born in the year 1630. His mother was the daughter of Thomas Dobſon, a gentleman of the ſame place, a woman of excellent character, but unhappy, for many years of her life, in the loſs of her underſtanding. Both his parents were Non-conformiſts.

After he had, with a quick proficiency, paſſed through the grammar-ſchools, and attained a ſkill in the learned languages, ſuperior to his years, he was ſent to Cambridge in the year 1647, and admitted a penſioner of Clare-hall. He commenced bachelor of arts in 1650; and maſter of arts in 1654; having been choſen fellow of this college in 1651.

His firſt education and impreſſions were among thoſe who were then called Puritans, but of the beſt ſort; and yet, even before his mind was opened to clearer thoughts, he felt ſomewhat within him that diſpoſed him to more enlarged and liberal opinions. The books which were put into the hands of the youth at that time being generally heavy, he could ſcarcely bear them, even before he knew better things; but he ſoon met with the immortal work of Mr. Chillingworth, intitled, "The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe Way to Salvation

vation." This admirable book gave his mind the bias that it held ever after.

He was ſoon freed from his firſt prejudices, or, rather, he was never maſtered by them; yet he ſtill adhered to that ſtrictneſs of life to which he was bred, and retained a juſt value and due tenderneſs for thoſe eminent perſons among the Non-conformiſts with whom he had contracted an early friendſhip, particularly Dr. Clarkſon, his tutor; and by the ſtrength of his reaſoning, together with the clearneſs of his principles, he brought over more ſerious perſons from their ſcruples to the communion of the church of England, and fixed more in it than any man, perhaps, of that time.

As he got into a new line of ſtudy, ſo he entered into friendſhips with ſome of the greateſt divines of the age, who happened at that time to reſide at Cambridge, which contributed not a little to the perfecting his own mind. "But that which gave him his laſt finiſhing was his cloſe and long friendſhip with Dr. John Wilkins, afterwards biſhop of Cheſter. He went into all the beſt things that were in that great man, but ſo that he perfected every one of them: for though biſhop Wilkins had more general knowledge, yet Dr. Tillotſon was the greater divine; and, if the former had more fire, the latter was more correct."

Mr. Tillotſon left his college in 1656, or 1657, according to Dr. Hickes, who informs us, that he was invited by Edmund Prideaux, Eſq. of Ford-abbey, in Devonſhire, to inſtruct his ſon. This gentleman had been commiſſioner of the great-ſeal under the Long Parliament, and was then attorney-general to Oliver Cromwell; but how long Mr. Tillotſon lived with Mr. Prideaux, or whether till that gentleman's death, which happened in 1659, does not appear.

He was at London at the time of the death of the protector, and, about a week after, was preſent at a very remarkable ſcene at the palace at Whitehall: for happening to be there on a faſt-day of the houſehold,

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he went, out of curiosity, into the presence-chamber, where the solemnity was kept; and saw there, on the one side of a table, the new protector placed with the rest of his family; and on the other six preachers, among whom were Dr. John Owen, Dean of Christ-church, in Oxford; Dr. Thomas Goodwin, president of Magdalen-college; Mr. Joseph Caryl, author of the voluminous commentary on Job, and lector of St. Magnus in London; and Mr. Peter Steny. The bold sallies of enthusiasm, which Mr. Tillotson heard upon this occasion, were sufficient to disgust a man of his principles. God was in a manner reproached with the deceased protector's services, and challenged for taking him away so soon. Dr. Goodwin, who had pretended to assure them, in a prayer, a few minutes before he expired, that he was not to die, had now the assurance to say to God, "Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived." And Mr. Steny, praying for Richard, used these indecent words, next to blasphemy, "Make him the brightness of the father's glory, and the express image of his person."

The time of Mr. Tillotson's entering into holy orders, and by whom he was ordained, are facts unascertained; but his first sermon which appeared in print, was preached at the morning-exercise at Cripplegate, on Matth. vii. 13. At the time of preaching this sermon he was still among the Presbyterians, whose commissioners he attended, though as an auditor only, at the Savoy, for the review of the Liturgy, in 1661; but he submitted to the act of uniformity, which commenced on St. Bartholomew's day in the year ensuing.

The first office in the church, in which we find him employed after the Restoration, was that of curate at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, the years 1661, and 1662. Here Mr. Tillotson is said, by his mild and gentle behaviour and persuasive eloquence, to have prevailed with an Oliverian soldier, who preached among the Anabaptists in that town in a red coat, and was much followed,

followed, to desist from that, and betake himself to some other employment.

The short distance of Cheshunt from London allowing him frequent opportunities of visiting his friends in that city, he was often invited to preach there. And in December 1662, he was elected minister of the parish of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, by the parishioners, in whom the right of choice is vested. But Mr. Tillotson declined the acceptance of that living: however, he did not continue long without the offer of another benefice, which he accepted, being presented in June 1663, to the rectory of Ketton, or Keddington, in the county of Suffolk, worth two hundred pounds a-year. But, shortly after, he was called to London, by the society of Lincoln's Inn, to be their preacher; which invitation was so agreeable to Mr. Tillotson, that he determined to settle himself intirely among them, and though, in the intervals of the terms, he could have given a large part of the year to his parish in Suffolk; yet, so strict was he to the pastoral care in point of residence, that he resigned that living, even when his income in London could scarcely support him. The reputation which his preaching gained him in so conspicuous a station as that of Lincoln's Inn, recommended him, the year following, to the trustees of the Tuesday lecture, at St. Lawrence Jewry, founded by Elizabeth viscountess Camden. And there he was commonly attended by a numerous audience, brought together from the remotest parts of the metropolis, and by a great concourse of clergy, who followed him for improvement. He particularly distinguished himself by opposing the growing evils of Charles the Second's reign, *Atheism* and *Popery;* and in the year 1664, one Smith, having deserted the church of England for the Romish communion, published a book called, "Sure Footing in Christianity; or rational Discourses on the Rule of Faith." This being extolled by the abettors of Popery as an unanswerable performance, Mr. Tillotson refuted

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it in a piece, intituled, "The Rule of Faith," which was printed in 1666, and inſcribed to Dr. Stillingfleet, another eminent divine of the church of England.

Smith, who aſſumed the name of Serjeant, as a diſguiſe, replied to this; and in another piece he attacked a paſſage in Tillotſon's ſermon, "On the wiſdom of being religious;" which ſermon, as well as his Rule of Faith, Tillotſon clearly defended in the preface to the firſt volume of his ſermons, printed in 1671; and thereby eſtabliſhed his reputation as a controverſial writer.

In 1666, he took the degree of doctor in divinity; and in 1668, the high reputation of his learned friend, Dr. John Wilkins, and the intereſt of Villiers duke of Buckingham, having at laſt, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of archbiſhop Shelden and other great men of the church, induced the king to advance that divine to the biſhoprick of Cheſter; Dr. Tillotſon was deſired to preach the conſecration ſermon, in the chapel at Elyhouſe. Dr. Tillotſon was likewiſe related to biſhop Wilkins, having married his daughter-in-law, Elizabeth French, who was niece to Oliver Cromwell, yet he would not ſolicit any preferment; but this backwardneſs did not prevent his merit from having juſtice done it, by the intereſt which it gained him at court, as well as in the city; for upon the promotion of Dr. Peter Gunning to the biſhoprick of Chicheſter in 1670, he was collated to the prebend of the ſecond ſtall in the cathedral of Canterbury, which had been held by the new biſhop. He kept this prebend till he was advanced to the deanery of that church in 1672. Nor was Canterbury the only cathedral in which Dr. Tillotſon was preferred; for in 1675, he was preſented to the prebend of Ealdland, in that of St. Paul's, London, which he reſigned for that of Oxgate, and a reſidentiaryſhip in the ſame church, in 1678. This laſt preferment was obtained for him by the intereſt of his friend Dr. John Sharp, afterwards archbiſhop of York.

Dean Tillotſon had been for ſome years on the liſt of chaplains

chaplains to king Charles II. though his majeſty, according to the ſuggeſtion of biſhop Burnet, had no kindneſs for him; his zeal againſt Popery prevented his being a favourite of that monarch. He therefore contented himſelf with his deanery, the duties of which he faithfully diſcharged; and upon ſeveral occaſions he ſhewed the moderation of his religious principles, particularly in 1674, when he engaged in the revival of a ſcheme, which had miſcarried in 1668, to comprehend the Proteſtant diſſenters within the pale of the church of England, by conceſſions on both ſides; but the violence of the high-church prelates rendered his good offices ineffectual.

In 1676, he had the honour to convert the earl of Shrewſbury from the Romiſh to the Proteſtant faith; and he had the happineſs to live to ſee his noble convert made ſecretary of ſtate to king William, and duke of Shrewſbury.

The origin of dean Tillotſon's intereſt with the prince and princeſs of Orange, with the conſequence of it in his advancement to the ſee of Canterbury, has been aſcribed to an accident which is ſuppoſed to have happened in the year 1677, and is thus repreſented by Eachard, in his hiſtory of England: "The match between that prince and princeſs being made upon political views, againſt the will of the duke of York, and not with the hearty liking of the king, the country-party, as they were then called, were exceedingly pleaſed and elated; and after the lord-mayor's feaſt, a ſecret deſign was laid to invite the new-married couple into the city, to a public and ſolemn entertainment to be made for them. To prevent this, the court hurried both the bride and bridegroom, as faſt as they could, out of town, ſo that they departed with ſuch precipitation, that they had ſcarce time to make any proviſion for their journey. Their ſervants and baggage went by the way of Harwich; but the prince and princeſs by Canterbury road, where they were to ſtay till the wind was fair, and the yacht ready to

to ſail with them. Being arrived at Canterbury, they repaired to an inn; and, no good care being taken in their haſte, to ſeparate what was needful for their journey, they came very meanly provided thither. Monſieur Bentinck, who attended them, endeavoured to borrow ſome plate and money of the corporation for their accommodation; but, upon grave deliberation, the mayor and body proved to be really afraid to lend them either. Dr. Tillotſon, dean of Canterbury, at that time in reſidence there, hearing of this, immediately got together all his own plate, and other that he borrowed, together with a good number of guineas, and all other neceſſaries for them, and went directly to the inn to Monſieur Bentinck, and offered him all that he had got, and withal complained that they did not come to the deanery, where the royal family uſed to lodge, and heartily invited them ſtill to go thither, where they might be ſure of a better accommodation. This laſt they declined; but the money, plate, and the reſt were highly acceptable to them. Upon this, the dean was carried to wait upon the prince and the princeſs, and his great intereſt ſoon brought others to attend upon them. By this lucky accident, he began that acquaintance, and the correſpondence with the prince and Monſieur Bentinck, which increaſed yearly till the Revolution, when Bentinck had great occaſion for him and his friends, on his own account, as well as the prince himſelf, when he came to the crown. And this was the true ſecret ground on which the biſhop of London (whoſe qualities and ſervices ſeemed to intitle him without a rival to the archbiſhoprick) was ſet aſide, and Dr. Tillotſon advanced over his head." But this account of the ground of Tillotſon's advancement is not ſufficiently authenticated, and is very improbable.

The ſudden death of his ſecond brother, Mr. Joſhua Tillotſon, by the rupture of a blood veſſel, in 1678, affected dean Tillotſon in a very ſenſible manner; and being unwilling to ſhock his father, then at his houſe

at Sowerby, with the abrupt communication of it, he wrote the ſame day to his kinſman, Mr. Timothy Bentley, deſiring him to acquaint him with the loſs of his ſon, and to intreat him, "to bear it with patience, and ſubmiſſion to the will of God, and to comfort himſelf, as I (ſays he) deſire to do, with the hope of meeting and enjoying him in a better life."

The diſcovery of the Popiſh plot the ſame year having given great alarm to the parliament, the dean was appointed to preach before the houſe of commons on the fifth of November. His text was Luke ix. 55. 56.; and the deſign of his diſcourſe was to ſhew, that a revengeful, cruel, and deſtructive ſpirit is directly contrary to the deſign and temper of the goſpel, and not to be excuſed upon any pretence of zeal for God and religion. In the concluſion, he makes an application of that doctrine to the occaſion of the day, by expoſing the principles and practices of the church of Rome, and particularly in the gunpowder-treaſon plot, avowed by the authors, who expreſſed a concern for its ill ſucceſs, as appeared by the original papers and letters of Sir Everard Digby, then in the dean's hands.

The diſcovery of the rye-houſe plot, in 1683, opened a very melancholy ſcene, in which the dean had a large ſhare of diſtreſs, on account both of his friendſhips and his concern for the public. One of the principal objects of his ſolicitude and anxiety was the excellent lord William Ruſſell, whoſe memoirs we have included in the Life of Algernon Sydney.

After lord Ruſſell's condemnation, the dean and Dr. Burnet were ſent for by his lordſhip, and they both continued their attendance upon him till his death; the day before which, the dean delivered to him a letter, in which he endeavoured to perſuade him to what he had ſome days before in vain attempted, a declaration againſt the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance. The principles of this letter were the ground of thoſe expreſſions which he uſed in his prayer with his lordſhip on the ſcaffold: "Grant

"Grant that all we who ſurvive, by this and other inſtances of thy providence, may learn our duty to God and the king!"---And this prayer, as well as his letter, were conſidered by the court as ſuch a ſanction to their favourite doctrines and meaſures, that Mr. Roger L'Eſtrange was furniſhed with copies of them, inſerted by him in his conſiderations upon a printed ſheet, intitled, "The Speech of the late Lord Ruſſell to the Sheriffs;" in which he gives an account of the dean's pious and friendly viſits to his lordſhip, and commends him for diſcharging himſelf, from firſt to laſt, in all the parts of a churchman and of a friend.—But Dr. Tillotſon afterwards acquired more juſt and rational principles in politics.

In 1685, dean Tillotſon gave an exemplary proof of his truly Chriſtian temper. When the perſecution againſt the *Huguenots*, or Proteſtant ſubjects in France, became ſo intolerant, by the impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantz (an act of toleration and privilege in their favour), that thouſands of families forſook their country and effects, and fled for refuge to the Proteſtant ſtates of Europe, many of them came to England, and were encouraged by the dean to ſettle at Canterbury, where they amply repaid this country for the protection granted to them, by eſtabliſhing the ſilk-weaving manufactory. The king having granted briefs to collect alms for their relief, the dean exerted himſelf in procuring contributions from his friends; and Dr. Beveridge, one of the prebendaries of his cathedral, having refuſed to read the briefs, as being contrary to the rubrick, the dean ſaid to him, "Doctor, Doctor, charity is above rubricks."

During the debate in parliament concerning the ſettlement of the crown on king William for life, the dean was adviſed with upon that point by the princeſs Anne of Denmark, who had at firſt refuſed to give her conſent to it, as prejudicial to her own right. Her favourite, the lady Churchill, afterwards ducheſs of Marl-

borough, accordingly took great pains to promote the princeſs's pretenſions. But that lady ſoon finding that all endeavours of this kind would be ineffectual, that all the principal men, except the Jacobites, were for the king, and that the ſettlement would be carried in parliament, whether her royal highneſs would or not, and being fearful about every thing which the princeſs did, while ſhe was thought to be adviſed by her ladyſhip, ſhe could not ſatisfy her own mind, till ſhe had conſulted with ſeveral perſons of wiſdom and integrity, and particularly with the lady Ruſſell, and the dean of Canterbury. She found them all unanimous in the expediency of the ſettlement propoſed, as things were then ſituated; and ſhe therefore carried the dean to the princeſs, who, upon what he ſaid to her, took care that no diſturbance ſhould be made by her pretended friends, the Jacobites, who had preſſed her earneſtly to form an oppoſition. Upon the acceſſion of king William and queen Mary, the dean was admitted into a high degree of favour and confidence at court; and was appointed clerk of the cloſet to the king. The refuſal of archbiſhop Sancroft to acknowledge the government of their majeſties, or to take the oaths of allegiance to them, occaſioned his ſuſpenſion ſoon after, and engaged his majeſty to conſider of the choice of a fit perſon to ſucceed him in the ſee of Canterbury, if he continued refractory; and this being the caſe, his majeſty ſoon fixed upon dean Tillotſon for that purpoſe, whoſe deſires and ambition extended no farther than the exchange of his deanery for that of St. Paul's, vacant by the promotion of Dr. Stillingfleet to the biſhoprick of Worceſter. This was readily granted him in 1689. It was indeed a conſiderable diminution of his income, as he reſigned at the ſame time the reſidentiaryſhip of St. Paul's. But he choſe to diſburthen himſelf of the load and envy of holding two dignities together. Yet, however contented he was in that ſituation, his majeſty would not let him reſt, till he ſubmit-

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ted to a much higher poſt, to which he had an almoſt unconquerable averſion.

His reluctance to this firſt dignity in the church of England will be beſt repreſented in the dean's own words, in his letter to lady Ruſſell upon that ſubject: "But now begins my trouble. After I had kiſſed the king's hand for the deanery of St. Paul's, I gave his majeſty my moſt humble thanks, and told him, that now he had ſet me at eaſe for the remainder of my life. He replied, 'No ſuch matter, I aſſure you:' and ſpoke plainly about a great place, which I dread to think of, and ſaid, 'It was neceſſary for his ſervice, and he muſt charge it upon my conſcience.' Juſt as he had ſaid this, he was called to ſupper, and I had only time to ſay, 'That, when his majeſty was at leiſure, I did believe I could ſatisfy him, that it would be moſt for his ſervice, that I ſhould continue in the ſtation in which he had now placed me.' This hath brought me into a real difficulty: for, on the one hand, it is hard to decline his majeſty's commands, and much harder yet to ſtand out againſt ſo much goodneſs as his majeſty is pleaſed to uſe towards me. On the other, I can neither bring my inclination nor my judgment to it. This I owe to the biſhop of Saliſbury (Dr. Burnet), one of the worſt and beſt friends I know: Beſt, for his ſingular good opinion of me; and the worſt, for directing the king to this method, which I know he did; as if his lordſhip and I had connected the matter, how to finiſh this fooliſh piece of diſſimulation, in running away from a biſhoprick, to catch an archbiſhoprick. This fine device hath thrown me ſo far into the briars, that, without his majeſty's great goodneſs, I ſhall never get off without a ſcratched face.

"And now I will tell your ladyſhip the bottom of my heart. I have, of a long time, I thank God for it, devoted myſelf to the public ſervice, without any regard for myſelf; and to that end have done the beſt I could, in the beſt manner I was able. Of late God

hath been pleaſed, by a very ſevere way, [the death of his only ſurviving child, Mary, the wife of James Chadwicke, Eſq. is here alluded to: it happened in 1687,] but in great goodneſs to me, to wean me perfectly from the love of this world; ſo that worldly greatneſs is now not only undeſirable, but diſtaſteful to me: and I do verily believe, that I ſhall be able to do as much or more good in my preſent ſtation, than in a higher; and ſhall not have one jot leſs intereſt or influence upon any others, to any good purpoſe; for the people naturally love a man that will take great pains and little preferment: but, on the other hand, if I could force my inclination to take this great place, I forſee that I ſhall ſink under it, and grow melancholy, and good for nothing; and, after a little while, die as a fool dies."

The ſee of Canterbury, however, becoming vacant, by the deprivation of archbiſhop Sancroft, in 1690, the king continued, for ſeveral months after, his importunities to the dean, for his acceptance of it; which he ſtill endeavoured to avoid. In this ſituation, he wrote another letter to the lady Ruſſell, wherein he tells her,—

"On Sunday laſt the king commanded me to wait upon him the next morning at Kenſington. I did ſo, and met with what I feared. His majeſty renewed his former gracious offer in ſo preſſing a manner, and with ſo much kindneſs, that I hardly knew how to reſiſt it. I made the beſt acknowledgments I could of his undeſerved grace and favour to me, and begged of him to conſider all the conſequences of this matter, being well aſſured, that all that ſtorm, which was raiſed in convocation the laſt year, by thoſe who will be the church of England, was upon my account; and that the biſhop of London was at the bottom of it, out of a jealouſy that I might be a hindrance to him in attaining what he deſires, and what, I call God to witneſs, I would not have.

"And I told his majeſty, that I was ſtill afraid that his

his kindneſs to me would be greatly to his prejudice, eſpecially if he carried it ſo far as he was then pleaſed to ſpeak. For I plainly ſaw they could not bear it, and that the effects of envy and ill-will towards me would terminate upon him.

"To which he replied, 'That, if the thing were once done, and they ſaw no remedy, they would give over, and think of making the beſt of it; and therefore he muſt deſire me to think ſeriouſly of it:' with other expreſſions, not fit for me to repeat. To all which I anſwered, 'That, in obedience to his majeſty's commands, I would conſider of it again, though, I was afraid, I had already thought more of it than had done me good, and muſt break through one of the greateſt reſolutions of my life, and ſacrifice at once all the eaſe and contentment of it; which yet I would force myſelf to do, were I really convinced that I was, in any meaſure, capable of doing his majeſty and the public that ſervice which he was pleaſed to think I was." He ſmiled, and ſaid, 'You talk of trouble; I believe you will have much more eaſe in it, than in the condition in which you now are.'—Thinking not fit to ſay more, I humbly took leave."

To this letter, her ladyſhip returned an anſwer, which contributed not a little to determine him to acquieſce in the king's pleaſure, if his majeſty ſhould ſtill preſs him, who now inſiſted upon a peremptory anſwer. The reſult of this affair is mentioned at large in his letter to lady Ruſſell:

"I went to Kenſington full of fear, but yet determined what was fit for me to do. I met the king coming out of his cloſet, and aſking if his coach was ready. He took me aſide, and I told him, 'That, in obedience to his majeſty's command, I had conſidered of the thing as well as I could, and came to give him my anſwer. I perceived his majeſty was going out, and therefore deſired him to appoint me another time, which he did, on the Saturday morning after.

"Then

"Then I came again, and he took me into his closet; where I told him, 'That I could not but have a deep ſenſe of his majeſty's great grace and favour to me, not only to offer me the beſt thing he had to give, but to preſs it ſo earneſtly upon me.' I ſaid, 'I would not preſume to argue the matter any farther; but I hoped he would give me leave to be ſtill his humble and earneſt petitioner to ſpare me in that thing.' He anſwered, 'He would do ſo, if he could; but he knew not what to do, if I refuſed it.' Upon that I told him, 'That I tendered my life to him, and did humbly devote [it] to be diſpoſed of as he thought fit.' He was graciouſly pleaſed to ſay, 'It was the beſt news had come to him this great while.' I did not kneel down to kiſs his hand; for, without that, I doubt I am too ſure of it; but requeſted of him, that he would defer the declaration of it, and let it be a ſecret for ſome time. He ſaid, 'He thought it might not be amiſs to defer it till the parliament was up.'

"I begged farther of him, that he would not make me a wedge to drive out the preſent archbiſhop; that, ſome time before I was nominated, his majeſty would be pleaſed to declare in council, that, ſince his lenity had not had any better effect, he would wait no more, but would diſpoſe of his place. This, I told him, I humbly deſired, that I might not be thought to do any thing harſh, or which might reflect upon me; for, now that his majeſty had thought fit to advance me to this ſtation, my reputation was become his intereſt. He ſaid, 'He was ſenſible of it, and thought it reaſonable to do as I deſired.'

"I craved leave of him to mention one thing more, which, in juſtice to my family, eſpecially my wife, I ought to do, that I ſhould be more than undone by the great and neceſſary charge of coming into this place, and muſt therefore be an humble petitioner to his majeſty, that, if it ſhould pleaſe God to take me out of the world, that I muſt unavoidably leave my wife a beg-

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gar, he would not ſuffer her to be ſo; and that he would graciouſly be pleaſed to conſider, that the widow of an archbiſhop of Canterbury, which would now be an odd figure in England (there having been but two archbiſhops married men ſince the Reformation), could not decently be ſupported by ſo little as would have contented her very well if I had died a dean.' To this he gave a very gracious anſwer, 'I promiſe you to take care of her.'"

At length his majeſty's nomination of him to the archbiſhoprick in council took place, on the 23d of April 1691.

The *congé d'elire* being granted on the firſt of May, he was elected on the 16th, confirmed on the 28th, and, having retired to his houſe on Saturday the 30th, which he ſpent in faſting and prayer, he was conſecrated the day following, being Whitſunday, in the church of St. Mary le Bow, by Dr. Peter Mew, biſhop of Wincheſter; Dr. William Lloyd, biſhop of St. Aſaph; Dr. Gilbert Burnet, biſhop of Sarum; Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, biſhop of Worceſter; Dr. Gilbert Ironſide, biſhop of Briſtol; and Dr. John Hough, biſhop of Oxford; in the preſence of Henry duke of Norfolk; Thomas marquis of Carmarthen, lord-preſident of the council; William earl of Devonſhire, Charles earl of Dorſet, Charles earl of Macclesfield, Thomas earl of Falconberg, Robert lord Lucas, and divers other perſons of rank; who attended the ſolemnity, to expreſs the great eſteem and reſpect which they had for his grace, and their great ſatisfaction at his promotion.

Four days after his conſecration, he was ſworn of the privy-council; and on the 11th of July he had a reſtitution of the temporalities of his ſee. All the profits of it from the Michaelmas preceding were likewiſe granted to him, which then amounted to two thouſand five hundred pounds. He continued to live at the deanery of St. Paul's till the latter end of the year 1691; and

and in the mean time built a large apartment at Lambeth-house for his wife, repaired the whole, altered the windows and lights of the archbishop's lodgings, also wainscotted many rooms, and made other improvements there; which being finished, he removed thither, as appears from a memorandum in his own hand-writing, on the 26th of November 1691.

The malice and party-rage, which he had felt the effects of before he was raised to the archbishoprick, broke out with full force upon his advancement, in all the forms of insult: one instance of which, not commonly known, deserves to be mentioned here.

Soon after his promotion, while a gentleman was with him, who came to pay his compliments upon it, a packet was brought in, sealed, and directed to his grace: upon opening of which, there appeared a mask inclosed, but nothing written. The archbishop, without any signs of emotion, threw it carelessly among his papers on the table; and on the gentleman's expressing great surprise and indignation at the affront, his grace only smiled and said, "This was a gentle rebuke, if compared with some others that lay there in black and white," pointing to the papers on the table.

Nor could the series of ill treatment which he received ever provoke him to a temper of revenge, being far from indulging himself in any of those liberties in speaking of others, which were, to so immeasurable a degree, made use of against himself. And, upon a bundle of libels found among his papers after his death, he put no other inscription than this: "These are libels, I pray God forgive the writers; I do."

The calumnies spread against him, though the falsest which malice could invent, and the confidence with which they were averred, joined with the envy that accompanies a high station, had indeed a greater operation than could have been imagined, considering how long he had lived on so public a scene, and how well he was known. It seemed a new and unusual thing that

that a man, who, in the courſe of above thirty years, had done ſo much good, and ſo many ſervices, to ſo many perſons, without ever once doing an ill office, or a hard thing to any one, and who had a ſweetneſs and gentleneſs in him that ſeemed rather to lean to an exceſs, ſhould yet meet with ſo much unkindneſs and injuſtice. But he bore all this with a ſubmiſſion to the will of God; nor had it any effect on him, to change either his temper or his maxims, though perhaps it might inwardly affect his health.

He was ſo exactly true, in all the repreſentations of things or perſons which he laid before their majeſties, that he never raiſed the character of his friends, nor ſunk that of thoſe who deſerved not ſo well of him; but offered every thing to them with that ſincerity which ſo well became him. His truth and candour were perceptible in almoſt every thing which he ſaid or did; his looks and whole manner ſeeming to take away all ſuſpicion concerning him; for he thought nothing in this world was worth much art, or great management.

He did not long ſurvive his advancement; for, on Sunday the 18th of November 1694, he was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs, while he was at the chapel in Whitehall: but though his countenance ſhewed that he was indiſpoſed, he thought it not decent to interrupt the ſervice. The fit indeed came ſlowly on; but it ſeemed to be fatal, and ſoon turned to a dead palſy. The oppreſſion of his diſtemper was ſo great, that it became very uneaſy for him to ſpeak; but it appeared, that his underſtanding was ſtill clear, though others could not have the advantage of it. He continued ſerene and calm, and, in broken words, ſaid, that, he thanked God, he was quiet within, and had nothing then to do but to wait the will of Heaven.

He was attended, the two laſt nights of his illneſs, by his friend Mr. Nelſon, the author of "The Faſts and Feſtivals of the Church of England;" in whoſe arms

arms he expired, on the 10th of December 1694, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age.

The ſorrow for his death was more univerſal than was ever known for a ſubject; and, when his funeral was appointed, there was a numerous train of coaches, filled with perſons of rank and condition, who came voluntarily, to aſſiſt at that ſolemnity, from Lambeth to the church of St. Laurence Jewry, where his body was interred, and a monument afterwards erected to his memory, with the following inſcription:—

P. M.
Reverendiſſimi & ſanctiſſimi Præſulis
Johannis Tillotson,
Archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis,
Concionatoris olim hâc in Eccleſiâ
Per Annos XXX celeberrimi,
Qui obiit X° Kal. Dec. MDCLXXXXIV,
Ætatis ſuæ LXIIII.
Hoc poſuit Elizabetha
Conjux illius mœriſſima.

The archbiſhop's theological works are ſtill held in the higheſt repute, and have been frequently reprinted; many of his ſermons have likewiſe been tranſlated into foreign languages: to the laſt edition in folio is prefixed his life, by the editor, Dr. Birch, from which the preſent memoirs are chiefly extracted.

*** *Authorities.* Birch's Life of Tillotſon, edit. 1752. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times. Biographia Britannica.

THE

THE LIFE OF

SIR GEORGE SAVILE,

MARQUIS OF HALIFAX.

[A. D. 1630, to 1695.]

SIR GEORGE SAVILE, a celebrated ſtateſman and political writer, was the eldeſt ſon of Sir William Savile, Baronet, whoſe title and eſtate he inherited. The family, from which he was deſcended, is of great antiquity in Yorkſhire.---It is conjectured, from the date of his return from his travels, that Sir George Savile was born about the year 1630. But all we know of the early part of his life, is, that he was very active in compaſſing the reſtoration of Charles II.; that, ſoon after that æra, he diſcovered very great abilities for the ſervice of the nation; and that, in conſideration of his own and his late father's loyalty to the crown, he was raiſed to the peerage, by the ſtyle and title of Baron Savile of Eland, and Viſcount Savile, in 1672; and the ſame year he went to Holland, with the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Arlington, with whom he was joined in commiſſion, as ambaſſador extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary, to negociate a peace between France and the States General, in which he met with great oppoſition from the envy of his colleagues.

In 1675, a bill was brought into the houſe of peers, by which all members of either houſe of parliament, and all who poſſeſſed any office, were required to ſwear, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take up arms againſt the king; that they abhorred the traitorous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe commiſſioned by him; and that they would not at any time endeavour the alteration of the Proteſtant religion, or of the eſtabliſhed government, either in church or ſtate. But this

bill, by which it was intended to exclude all men from parliament, or from any offices under the government, but the friends of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance, was vigorouſly oppoſed; and, among others, lord Halifax zealouſly exerted himſelf againſt ſo pernicious a bill, which was, indeed, utterly incompatible with the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution.

In 1676, he was removed from the council-board, by the intereſt of the earl of Danby, the lord-treaſurer. However, upon a change in the miniſtry, in 1679, his lordſhip was made a member of the new council. And the ſame year, in the conſultations about the bill for excluding the duke of York from the throne, he oppoſed that meaſure; but propoſed ſuch limitations of James's authority, in caſe of his acceſſion to the throne, as ſhould diſable him from doing any harm, either in church or ſtate; ſuch as the taking out of his hands all power in eccleſiaſtical matters, the diſpoſal of the public money, and the power of making peace and war, and lodging theſe in the two houſes of parliament; and that the parliament in being, at the king's death, ſhould continue without a new ſummons, and aſſume the adminiſtration. And it was ſaid, by ſome of Halifax's friends, that the limitations propoſed were ſo advantageous to public liberty, that a man might be tempted to wiſh for a Popiſh king, in order to obtain them. Upon this difference of opinion, a faction was quickly formed in the new council; Halifax, Eſſex, and Sunderland, declaring for limitations, and againſt the excluſion; while Shafteſbury was equally zealous for the latter.

When the bill was brought into the houſe of peers, lord Halifax appeared with great reſolution at the head of the debates againſt it; and Mr. Hume ſays, "that on this occaſion he diſplayed an extent of capacity, and a force of eloquence, which had never been ſurpaſſed in that aſſembly." The part which he took in this affair gave ſo much offence to the houſe of commons, that it occaſioned

occaſioned them, ſoon after, to addreſs the king to remove him from his councils and preſence for ever. But he prevailed with his majeſty ſoon after to diſſolve that parliament, and then he was created an earl. However, upon the king's deferring to call a new parliament, according to his promiſe to his lordſhip, he is ſaid to have fallen ſick, through vexation of mind; and he expoſtulated ſeverely with thoſe who were ſent to him on that affair, refuſing the poſt both of ſecretary of ſtate and lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

A new parliament was called in 1680, wherein the earl of Halifax ſtill oppoſed the excluſion-bill, and gained great reputation by his management of the debates; but this occaſioned a new addreſs from the houſe of commons to remove him. However, after that bill was rejected in the houſe of peers, his lordſhip preſſed them, though without ſucceſs, to proceed to limitations; and began with moving that the duke of York might be obliged to live five hundred miles out of England during the king's life.

In Auguſt 1682, he was created a marquis, and ſoon after made privy-ſeal; and, upon king James's acceſſion, preſident of the council. But, on refuſing his conſent to the repeal of the teſts, he was told by that monarch, that though he could never forget his paſt ſervices, yet, ſince he would not comply in that point, he was reſolved to have all of a piece: and ſo his lordſhip was diſmiſſed from all public employments.

He was afterwards conſulted by Mr. Sidney, whether he would adviſe the prince of Orange's coming over; but the matter being opened to him at a great diſtance, he did not encourage a farther freedom, conſidering the attempt as impracticable, ſince it depended upon ſo many accidents. Yet, upon the arrival of that prince, he was ſent by the king, with the earls of Rocheſter and Godolphin, to treat with his highneſs, then at Hungerford.

In that aſſembly of the lords which met after king

James's withdrawing himſelf the firſt time from Whitehall, the marquis of Halifax was choſen their preſident; and upon the king's return from Feverſham, he was ſent, together with the earls of Shrewſbury and Delamer, from the prince of Orange, with a meſſage, directing his majeſty to quit his palace at Whitehall, and retire to ſome place in the country. In the Convention Parliament he was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported the motion of the vacancy of the throne, and the conjunctive ſovereignty of the prince and princeſs, upon whoſe acceſſion he was again made privy-ſeal. But in the ſeſſion of 1689 the marquis quitted the court, and became a zealous oppoſer of the meaſures of government till his death, which happened in April 1695, being occaſioned by a gangrene in a rupture that he had long neglected. When he ſaw death inevitably approaching, he ſhewed a philoſophical firmneſs of mind, and profeſſed himſelf a ſincere Chriſtian, lamenting the many errors of his paſt life.

It is obſerved by the author of the Britiſh Biography, that "the marquis of Halifax was a man of fine genius, conſiderable learning, and great eloquence. He was much celebrated for his wit; but he has been cenſured for the imprudent exertion of it. The livelineſs of his imagination, it has been ſaid, ſometimes got the better of his judgment; for he would never loſe his jeſt, though it ſpoiled his argument, in the graveſt debate. He was alſo charged with being unſteady in his principles. And Mr. Hume, ſpeaking of him, ſays, 'This man, who poſſeſſed the fineſt genius, and moſt extenſive capacity, of all employed in public affairs during the reign of Charles II. affected a ſpecies of neutrality between the parties, and was eſteemed the head of that ſmall body known by the denomination of Trimmers. This conduct, which is much more natural to men of integrity than of ambition, could not, however, procure him the former character; and he was always, with reaſon, regarded as an intriguer, rather than a patriot.' His private character

character appears to have been amiable; and he was punctual in his payments, and juſt and honourable in his tranſactions with others. He was ſucceeded in his honours and eſtates by his ſon William; but he dying without male iſſue in 1700, the dignity became extinct in his family; and the title of earl of Halifax was revived in the perſon of Charles Montague, the ſame year."

From the ſame work we ſhall alſo give the following account of his writings.

"The marquis of Halifax was the author of the following pieces:

I. 'Advice to a daughter.'---This is an excellent piece: Mr. Granger obſerves, that it contains more good ſenſe, in fewer words, than is perhaps to be found in any of his contemporary authors.

II. 'The Life of a Trimmer: His Opinion of the Laws and Government, the Proteſtant Religion, the Papiſts, and Foreign Affairs.'---In this piece the noble writer has given his own political ſentiments at large; and if theſe ſentiments are compared with his conduct, perhaps the latter will appear more conſiſtent and uniform than it has commonly been ſuppoſed to be.

III. 'The Anatomy of an Equivalent.'

IV. 'A Letter to a Diſſenter, upon Occaſion of his Majeſty's (James II.) late gracious Declaration of Indulgence.

V. 'Some Cautions offered to the Conſideration of thoſe who are to chuſe Members to ſerve in the enſuing Parliament.'---There are many excellent obſervations on this piece, which deſerves the attention of thoſe who have a right to vote for members of parliament.

VI. 'A rough Draught of a new Model at Sea.'

VII. 'Maxims of State.'---From which we ſhall ſelect the following:

'A prince who falleth out with the laws, breaketh with his beſt friends.'

'The exalting his own authority above his laws is like letting in his enemy to ſurpriſe his guards. The laws are the only guards he can be ſure will never run away from him.'

'Arbitrary power is like moſt other things that are very hard, they are alſo very apt to break.'

'Where the leaſt uſeful part of the people have the moſt credit with the prince, men will conclude, that the way to get every thing is to be good for nothing.'

'If a prince does not ſhew an averſion to knaves, there will be an inference that will be very natural, let it be never ſo unmannerly.'

'A prince who followeth his own opinion too ſoon, is in danger of repenting it too late.'

'The prince is to take care that the greater part of the people may not be angry at the ſame time; for though the firſt beginning of their ill-humour ſhould be againſt one another, yet, if not ſtopt, it will naturally end in anger againſt him.'

'Changing hands, without changing meaſures, is as if a drunkard in a dropſy ſhould change his doctors, and not his diet.'

'Quality alone ſhould only ſerve to make a ſhew in the embroidered part of the government; but ignorance, though never ſo well born, ſhould never be admitted to ſpoil the public buſineſs.'

'A people may let a king fall, yet ſtill remain a people; but if a king let his people ſlip from him, he is no longer king.'

"All the above tracts were collected together, and publiſhed in one volume, 8vo. in 1704. The third edition was publiſhed in 1717, in 12mo. The marquis alſo wrote, 'Hiſtorical Obſervations upon the Reigns of Edward I. II. III. and Richard II. with Remarks upon their faithful Counſellors and falſe Favourites; and ſome other ſmall pieces."

*** *Authorities.* Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors. Britiſh Biog. vol. VI. 8vo. 1770.

THE

THE LIFE OF

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.

[A. D. 1628, to 1698.]

THIS eminent ſtateſman, and admired author, was deſcended from a younger branch of the family of the Temples, at Temple-hall, in Leiceſterſhire. He was grandſon of Sir William Temple, ſecretary to the unfortunate Robert earl of Eſſex, and afterwards provoſt of Dublin-college; and ſon of Sir John Temple, maſter of the rolls in Ireland in the reign of Charles I. by Mary, ſiſter of the learned Dr. Henry Hammond: he was born at London, in the year 1628.

From his youth he diſcovered a curious and penetrating genius, and a remarkable thirſt after knowledge, which his father happily took care to cultivate by a genteel and liberal education. At eight years old he was ſent to ſchool at Penſhurſt, in Kent, under the care of his uncle, Dr. Hammond, then miniſter of the pariſh. From thence, at ten, he went to Mr. Leigh, ſchoolmaſter of Biſhop-ſtortford; and, at ſeventeen, he was placed at Emanuel-college, in Cambridge, under the celebrated Dr. Ralph Cudworth, author of "The Intellectual Syſtem."

In this univerſity he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the improvements he made in every part of human learning; and, beſides the ancient tongues, he made himſelf perfect maſter of the two moſt uſeful modern languages, the French and the Spaniſh. So that, when he removed from thence, he had, by his genius and his induſtry, rendered himſelf capable of any public employment.

At nineteen he began his travels into France; and paſſing through the iſle of Wight, where king Charles I. was then priſoner in Cariſbrook-caſtle, he there met with Mrs. Dorothy Oſborn, daughter of Sir Peter Oſborn, then governor of Guernſey for the king, who

was

was going, with her brother, to their father at St. Maloes.

He accompanied them; and commenced a friendſhip with that young lady, which laſted ſeven years, and then ended in a happy marriage. He paſſed two years in France, acquired a perfect knowledge of the manners of that country, and ſoon after made a tour into Holland, Flanders, and Germany, in which he further poliſhed and improved his natural abilities.

After his return in 1654, and during the uſurpation, he paſſed his time privately, with his wife, his father, his two brothers, and his ſiſter, in Ireland.---The five years he lived there were ſpent chiefly in his cloſet, in improving himſelf in hiſtory and philoſophy; and he refuſed all ſolicitations of entering into any public employment, till the Reſtoration, when he was choſen member of the convention in Ireland, as he was likewiſe of the ſubſequent parliament, for the county of Carlow; and, in 1662, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners to be ſent from the parliament to the king, to whoſe favour he was introduced by the lord-chancellor Clarendon, and the earl of Arlington.

From this time, during the twenty ſucceeding years (that is to ſay, from the thirty-ſecond to the fifty-ſecond year of his age), he continued to act as a counſellor of ſtate, with particular honour and ſucceſs; which period he took to be the part of a man's life moſt fit to be dedicated to the ſervices of his prince and country; the reſt being, as he obſerved, too much taken up with his pleaſures or his eaſe.

To give a particular account of his negociations at home and abroad, would be carrying us beyond our plan, as it would oblige us to enter into a tedious detail of the foreign tranſactions of great part of the reign of Charles II. We ſhall therefore only take notice of the moſt material treaties which he had a principal ſhare in concluding: the firſt was a ſecret treaty with the biſhop of Munſter, to enter into the war againſt the

the Dutch, as an ally to Charles II.; which he accompliſhed with great dexterity, and more expedition than his court expected, though the preliminaries had been previouſly ſettled by a correſpondence between the earl of Arlington, ſecretary of ſtate, and the biſhop. This affair was conducted with ſuch addreſs, that the biſhop was in the field, at the head of his troops, before the other powers of Europe had any ſuſpicion of the negociation.---Upon this occaſion Mr. Temple travelled in diſguiſe, and ſuffered ſome hardſhips; but, after the treaty was concluded, he was allowed to go to Bruſſels, where a reſident's commiſſion was ſent to him, together with a patent creating him a baronet.

The following year he ſent for his family from England; but, before their arrival, he was obliged to ſet out a ſecond time for Munſter, to prevent the biſhop from making peace with the Dutch, owing to his ſtipend from England not being regularly paid.

Having ſettled this matter to the ſatisfaction of both courts, he returned to Bruſſels, and remained there till the latter end of the year; when, a peace being concluded between England and Holland, and Sir William's ſiſter, who lived with him at Bruſſels, having a great deſire to ſee Holland, he accompanied her to that country *incognito*.---While he was at the Hague, he made a private viſit to the famous penſionary De Witt, which laid the foundation of his future intimacy with him, and of his being employed to ſound that ſtateſman on the ſubject of the triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, againſt the growing power of France, which was the only grand political manœuvre in the reign of Charles II. and reflects the higheſt honour on the abilities and conduct of Sir William Temple.

This accompliſhed miniſter was ſent to the Hague in five days after his recal from Bruſſels, with the character of envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the ſtates general. Two days after his arrival, the conferences

ferences were opened; and in five days more the league was perfected. De Witt, who inclined a little to the French intereſt, could not help complimenting him with having the honour, which never any other miniſter had before him, of drawing the ſtates to a reſolution and concluſion in five days upon a matter of the greateſt importance, and an aſſiſtance of the greateſt expence they had ever been engaged in; and all directly againſt the nature of their conſtitution, which enjoined them to have recourſe to their provinces, adding, "That, now it was done, it looked like a miracle."

Upon the concluſion of the treaty, two letters were written, one from De Witt to the earl of Arlington; and the ſecond from the ſtates general to the king of Great Britain; of which ſome notice ought to be taken.

The former ſays, "As it was impoſſible to ſend a miniſter of greater capacity, or more proper for the temper or genius of this nation, than Sir William Temple; ſo, I believe, no other perſon either will, or can, more equitably judge of the diſpoſition wherein he has found the ſtates, to anſwer the good intentions of the king of Great Britain."

In the ſtates' letter they tell the king, "As it is a thing without example, that, in ſo few days, three ſuch important treaties have been concluded, ſo we can ſay, that the addreſs, the vigilance, and the ſincerity, of Sir William Temple, are alſo without example. If your majeſty continues to make uſe of ſuch miniſters, the knot will grow too faſt ever to be untied." And yet Sir William Temple, with no leſs wit than modeſty, gave another turn to it in a letter to Monſieur Gourville, ſaying, "They will needs have me paſs here for one of great abilities, for having finiſhed and ſigned, in five days, a treaty of ſuch importance to Chriſtendom: but I will tell you the ſecret of it; To draw things out of their centre, requires labour and addreſs to put them in motion; but, to make them return thither, nature helps

helps ſo far, that there needs no more than juſt to ſet them a going."

But the moſt ample and curious account of the progreſs of this memorable negociation, from firſt to laſt, is to be found in a letter from Sir William to the earl of Arlington, dated from the Hague, on the day it was concluded, 24th Jan. 1668; for which we refer the reader to Sir William Temple's ſtate-papers in his works.

Sir William Temple returned to Bruſſels ſoon after the ratification of the treaty, and a negociation being ſet on foot for a peace between France and Spain, Sir William was ordered, by the court of London, to repair to the congreſs to be held for that purpoſe at Aix-la-Chapelle, in quality of his majeſty's ambaſſador-extraordinary and mediator.---He arrived there about the end of April; and to his addreſs principally is aſcribed the compliance of the Spaniſh miniſters with the conditions propoſed, ſo that they ſigned the articles of peace on the 2d of May, though Sir Leoline Jenkins, who had been ſent there on the part of England, met with nothing but evaſions and delays before the arrival of Sir William Temple.

Upon his return to Bruſſels, he found letters from the ſecretary of ſtate, informing him, that he was again appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to the ſtates general, in order to confirm the triple alliance, and to ſolicit the emperor and the German princes, by their miniſters, to enter into it. Accordingly he ſet out for the Hague in Auguſt, and was received there with all poſſible marks of reſpect, being ſpecially honoured with the acquaintance and confidence of the prince of Orange, afterwards William III. But the meaſures of the Engliſh court being changed, in September 1669, in favour of France, he received orders to haſten over to England, where he met at firſt with a very cool reception; and was preſſed to return to the Hague, and make way for a war with Holland; with which country, not two

years

years before, he had been ſo much applauded for having made ſo ſtrict an alliance. But he excuſed himſelf from having any ſhare in this buſineſs, and retired to his houſe at Shene, near Richmond in Surrey.

In this interval of his leiſure and receſs from public employments, it was, that he wrote his "Obſervations on the United Provinces," and one part of his "Miſcellanies."

It redounds greatly to the honour of this honeſt ſtateſman, that, while the ducheſs of Orleans, ſiſter to Charles II. preſerved her influence over the king, and made him the dupe of France, he would not accept of any employment at home or abroad; but the politics of the court changing once more towards the end of the ſummer 1673, the king, growing weary of the ſecond Dutch war, reſolved to ſend Sir William Temple to Holland, to conclude a peace; but full powers having been ſent at this time from thence to the marquis de Freſne, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at London, Sir William Temple was ordered to treat with him; and in three days he concluded the whole affair.

As a reward for this ſervice, he was offered the embaſſy to Spain; which, for want of his father's conſent, who was then old and infirm, he refuſed; as he did ſoon after the place of ſecretary of ſtate, for want of ſix thouſand pounds, which he was to lay down for it, and could not ſpare.

In June 1674, he was again ſent ambaſſador to the Hague, and was afterwards one of the ambaſſadors and mediators in the treaty of Nimeguen. It was during his reſidence in Holland at this time, that he was the great inſtrument in ſecuring the religion and liberty of his country, by bringing about a marriage between the prince of Orange, afterwards William III. and the princeſs Mary, daughter to James duke of York, and niece to Charles II.

This grand affair was concerted by Sir William Temple and the friends of the Proteſtant religion, and

was

was brought to maturity chiefly by his dexterity, in the year 1677, contrary to the will of her royal highneſs's father, and not very much to the inclination of the king her uncle. In the latter part of this tranſaction, indeed, he made uſe of the aſſiſtance of the lord-treaſurer Danby, afterwards duke of Leeds, who thought the affair of that happineſs and importance to the public, that the duke, in print, declared, "That he would not ſuffer that part of his ſervice to be buried in oblivion:" yet, that Sir William Temple was the chief agent in this momentous buſineſs, the following letter from him to his father will clearly evince:

"To Sir JOHN TEMPLE.

"London, November —, 1677.

"SIR,

"THOUGH I do not trouble you often with public news or buſineſs, yet I am ſenſible of having too much neglected it of late, conſidering what has paſſed; which I know you will be more pleaſed with than any you have been entertained with a great while: for I remember how often, and how much, you have deſired to ſee the prince of Orange married here; not only from your good wiſhes to him, but from your apprehenſions of ſome greater matches that might befal us, and with conſequences ill enough to poſterity, as well as to the preſent age. I am in a good deal of haſte at this preſent time, and therefore ſhall ſum up a great deal in a little room.

"The prince of Orange came to the king at Newmarket, where he was mighty well received, both of king and duke. I made the acquaintance there between the prince and my lord-treaſurer; and in ſuch a manner, as though they were not at all known before to one another, yet they fell very ſoon into confidence.

"The prince ſaid not a word to any of them of any thoughts of a wife while they ſtaid at Newmarket; and

told me, 'No conſideration ſhould move him in that affair, till he had ſeen the lady.' The day after he ſaw her here, he moved it to the king and duke; and, though he did it with ſo good a grace, that it was very well received, yet, in four or five days treaty, it proved to be intangled in ſuch difficulties, that the prince ſent for me one night, and uttering his whole heart, told me, 'He was reſolved to give it over, repenting him from the heart of his journey, and would be gone within two days, and truſt God Almighty with what would follow;' and ſo went to bed the moſt melancholy that ever I ſaw him in my life. Yet, before eleven o'clock the next morning, the king ſent me to him, to let him know he was reſolved on the match, and that it ſhould be done immediately, and in the prince's own way.

"Thus far what had paſſed went no farther than the king, the duke, the prince, the lord-treaſurer, and me; but that afternoon it was declared at the foreign committee, and next day at council; you will eaſily imagine with what general joy. I cannot but tell you, that no man ſeems to lay it to heart ſo much as my lord Arlington, having had no part in it, which he could not but take notice of to the prince; who told me, his compliment to him upon it was, 'That ſome things, though they were good in themſelves, yet were ſpoiled by the manner of doing them; but this was in itſelf ſo good, that the manner of doing it could not ſpoil it.'—I am told, he lays it upon me, and will never forgive me; which I muſt bear as well as I can: but yet, becauſe you know how we have formerly lived, I will tell you, that it was not only impoſſible my lord-treaſurer and he ſhould concur in one thing, but he had likewiſe loſt all the prince's confidence and opinion ſince his laſt journey into Holland.—Beſides, for my own part, I found, theſe two years paſt, he could not bear my being ſo well neither with the prince nor with the treaſurer; but endeavoured, by Sir Gabriel Sylvius, to break the firſt, by ſteps which the prince acquainted

acquainted me with; nor could he hold reproaching me with the laſt, whenever I went to him, though he himſelf had firſt adviſed me to apply myſelf to my lord-treaſurer all I could, upon my laſt embaſſy into Holland, and though I had ever ſince told them both, I would live well with them both, let them live as ill as they would one with another; and my lord-treaſurer had been ſo reaſonable as to be contented with it.

"Since the marriage, the king and the prince have fallen into the buſineſs abroad, and agreed upon the terms of a peace, which the king will offer to France: and ſuch as, they both conclude, will ſecure Flanders. They both agree, that I muſt of neceſſity go to Paris immediately upon this errand, and bring a poſitive anſwer from that court within a time prefixed. I never undertook any journey more unwillingly, knowing in what opinion I ſtand already at that court; how deeply they reſent the prince's match without their communication, or the leaſt word to their ambaſſador here; and with how little reaſon I can hope to be the welcomer for this errand. But the king will abſolutely have it; and ſo I have made all my ſmall preparations, and think to be gone within two days; which is all at preſent, but to aſk your bleſſing, and aſſure you of my being,

"Sir, Yours, &c.

"W. T."

After having performed ſuch important ſervices to the crown and kingdom, Sir William Temple, in the year 1679, was again ſolicited to enter upon the office of ſecretary of ſtate; but he declined it, upon account of the uncertain ſituation of affairs; at the ſame time adviſing the king to form a new council, of which he was appointed one; though afterwards, upon the king's declaring his intention to prorogue the parliament to an unuſual length of time, without ſuffering his council to debate the meaſure, he uſed ſuch freedom of

ſpeech in oppoſing this meaſure, that his name was ſtruck out of the council-book.

This gave him a fair opportunity, as he was now greatly chagrined at the conduct of adminiſtration, to ſend the king word, that he would live the reſt of his life as good a ſubject as any in his kingdoms, but never meddle again with public affairs; a reſolution which he inviolably maintained, ſpending the remainder of his days, partly at Shene, but after his ſon's marriage at Moor-park, near Farnham in Surrey, without having any concern in the troubles of the ſhort, ignominious reign of James II. by whom he was held in perſonal eſteem; or the leaſt previous knowledge of the prince of Orange's expedition to England in 1688; and refuſing the earneſt ſolicitations of that prince, when he was advanced to the throne, to engage him in his ſervice, and to be ſecretary of ſtate, though he was often conſulted by him in his moſt ſecret and important affairs.

But though Sir William Temple declined accepting any public employment under king William, he conſented that his ſon, John Temple, eſq. ſhould accept the office of ſecretary at war; in which ſtation he had not acted above a week, before he took a boat, as if deſigning to go to Greenwich; but, when he had proceeded a little way, he ordered the waterman to ſet him on ſhore, where he made up ſome diſpatches he had forgotten at a public-houſe, and then went into the boat again: when they were near London-bridge, he dropt a ſhilling and a note in the boat unperceived, and then flung himſelf into the Thames. The note contained theſe words: "My folly, in undertaking what I was not able to perform, has done the king and kingdom a great deal of prejudice. I wiſh him all happineſs, and abler ſervants than John Temple."

It was conjectured that he alluded to his incapacity for the office of ſecretary at war, becauſe he had aſked the king leave to reſign the day before; but the true

cauſe

cauſe of his fatal end, moſt probably, was his having recommended his friend captain Hamilton, a priſoner in the tower on ſuſpicion of treaſon, to king William, as a proper perſon to be ſent over to Ireland, to engage Tyrconnel, then in arms for king James, to ſubmit; and he had even paſſed his word to king William, who miſtruſted Hamilton, for his fidelity. But this perfidious friend was no ſooner in Ireland, than he joined Tyrconnel, diſſuaded him from ſubmitting to the new government, and, at the head of a regiment, attacked king William's troops before Inniſkilling, commanded by general Macartay.

The taunts of rival courtiers threw Mr. Temple into a profound melancholy; and though the king, convinced of his innocence, forgave him his error in judgment, he never got the better of it.

This fatal blow required all Sir William's fortitude and greatneſs of ſoul to enable him to ſurvive it; and he felt it the more ſenſibly, as he had rather countenanced in converſation this ſingular principle, "That a wiſe man might diſpoſe of himſelf, and make his life as ſhort as he pleaſed."

The unfortunate Mr. Temple had married Mademoiſelle Du Pleſſis Rombouillet, a French lady, by whom he had two daughters. To theſe young ladies, Sir William Temple, who died in 1698, bequeathed the greateſt part of his eſtate, with this expreſs condition, that they ſhould not marry Frenchmen.

According to the directions in his will, his heart was depoſited in a ſilver box, and buried under the ſundial in his garden, oppoſite to the window from whence he uſed to contemplate and admire the glorious works of nature, with his beloved ſiſter, the ingenious lady Giffard; a lady, who, as ſhe had ſhared and relieved the fatigues of his voyages and travels during his public negociations, ſo ſhe was the principal delight and comfort of his laſt retirement and old age.

His character is briefly given by Dr. Birch, in

his "Lives of Illuſtrious Perſons," in the following words:

"He had an extraordinary vivacity, with ſo agreeable a vein of wit and fancy in his converſation, that nobody was welcomer in all ſorts of company; but his humour was greatly affected by the ſpleen in ſudden changes of weather, and eſpecially from the croſſes and diſappointments which he ſo often met with in his endeavours to contribute to the honour and ſervice of his country.

"He was an exact obſerver of truth, thinking none who had failed once ought ever to be truſted again; of great humanity and good nature; his paſſions naturally warm and quick, but tempered by reaſon.

"He never ſeemed buſy in his greateſt employments, was devoted to his liberty, and therefore averſe to the ſervitude of courts. He had been a paſſionate lover, was a kind huſband, an indulgent father, a good maſter, an excellent friend, and, knowing himſelf to be ſo, was impatient of the leaſt ſuſpicion or jealouſy from thoſe he loved.

"He was not without ſtrong averſions, ſo as to be uneaſy at the firſt ſight of ſome whom he diſliked, and impatient of their converſation apt to be warm in diſputes and expoſtulations, which made him hate the one, and avoid the other; being uſed to ſay, 'That they might ſometimes do well between lovers, but never between friends.'

"He had a very familiar way of converſing with all ſorts of people, from the greateſt princes, to the meaneſt ſervants, and even children, whoſe imperfect language, and natural innocent talk, he was fond of, and made entertainment of every thing that could afford it.

"He was born to a moderate eſtate, and did not much increaſe it during his employments.

"His religion was that of the church of England, in which he was born and educated; and, how looſe ſoever biſhop Burnet, who was not acquainted with him,

in

in the 'Hiſtory of his own Times,' repreſents his principles to have been, yet there is no ground for ſuch a reflection given in his writings; among which, his excellent letter to the counteſs of Eſſex is a convincing proof both of his piety and eloquence.

"He was rather tall in ſtature; his ſhape, when young, very exact; his hair dark-brown, and curled naturally; and, whilſt that was eſteemed a beauty, nobody had it in greater perfection; his eyes grey, but lively; and his body lean, but extremely active, ſo that none acquitted themſelves better at all exerciſes."

Nothing more remains, but to mention the admired and uſeful literary labours of this great ſtateſman and polite writer. They conſiſt of "Memoirs," "Letters," "Obſervations on the United Provinces," and "Miſcellanies." They are, in general, either political or hiſtorical, and ſhould be read by every young gentleman who aſpires to public employments; and by ſuch as are appointed to foreign embaſſies. But a few of the "Miſcelanies" are upon ſubjects of morality, philoſophy, and criticiſm, for which he deſerves the grateful remembrance of his countrymen; "having (as Mr. Hume obſerves), kept himſelf, in his writings, altogether unpolluted by that inundation of vice and licentiouſneſs which overwhelmed the nation in his time."

His works have all paſſed through ſeveral editions, and are at preſent in great repute.

*** *Authorities.* Boyer's Memoirs of the Life and Negociations of Sir William Temple, 1715, 8vo. Life and Character of Sir William Temple, written by a particular friend, prefixed to the folio edition of his works, in two vols. 1731. Birch's Lives of Illuſtrious perſons.

THE

THE LIFE OF

SIR CLOUDESLY SHOVEL.

[A. D. 1650, to 1707.]

THIS gallant naval officer was born in the year 1650, of parents but in middling circumſtances, who, having expectations from a relation of theirs called Cloudeſly, beſtowed that name upon their ſon, with a view of recommending him to his notice: but being diſappointed in their expectations, young Cloudeſly Shovel was put out apprentice to a ſhoemaker; and to this trade he applied himſelf for ſome years. But being of an aſpiring genius, and finding no likelihood of raiſing his fortune this way, he went to ſea as a cabin-boy, under Sir Chriſtopher Mynns; when after aſſiduouſly ſtudying navigation, for which he had a natural genius, he ſoon became an able mariner, and quickly arrived at preferment, eſpecially from the recommendation of the celebrated admiral Sir John Narborough, who having, by mere dint of capacity, raiſed himſelf to the higheſt honours of his profeſſion, was the generous patron of thoſe in whom he diſcovered any extraordinary merit.

After the concluſion of the ſecond Dutch war, our merchants were much harraſſed in the Mediterranean by the Tripoline corſairs, notwithſtanding the ſeveral treaties of peace concluded with them. Theſe inſults obliged Charles II. in 1674, to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron into thoſe parts, under Sir John Narborough, who arrived before Tripoli in the ſpring of that year; where, from the appearance of the enemy's ſtrength, and the nature of his inſtructions, which directed him to try negociation rather than force, he was induced to ſend to the dey of Tripoli a perſon in whoſe capacity he could confide, with moderate terms of accommodation, only to deſire ſatisfaction for what was paſt, and ſecurity for the future. The admiral pitched upon Mr. Shovel, then a lieutenant under him, to deliver this meſſage; which

which he did with uncommon ſpirit: but the dey, from a contempt of his youth, treated him very diſreſpectfully, and at the ſame time diſmiſſed him with an indefinite anſwer.

Mr. Shovel, on his return, acquainted Sir John with the remarks he had made on ſhore, and was ſent back again with another meſſage, and inſtructed with proper rules for further inquiry and obſervation. The dey treated Mr. Shovel worſe the ſecond time; but he bore it patiently, and made uſe of it as an excuſe for ſtaying longer on ſhore.

When he came back, he aſſured the admiral, that, notwithſtanding the lines and forts, it was practicable to burn the ſhips in the harbour. Accordingly, lieutenant Shovel, with all the boats filled with combuſtibles, boldly entered the port in the night of the fourth of March 1675, and performed this ſervice, with a degree of ſucceſs, which is hardly conceivable.

Nor was it long before Mr. Shovel was rewarded for his behaviour; of which ſuch honourable mention was made by Sir John, in all his letters, that Mr. Shovel, the next year, was made commander of the Saphire, a fifth-rate; and ſoon after removed to the James-galley a fourth-rate, where he continued till the death of king Charles II.

Prudential reaſons induced king James to employ captain Shovel, who, though he was far from being acceptable to him, had the command of the Dover, a fourth-rate, given to him; and in this ſituation he continued till the Revolution.

This event, ſo agreeable to the captain's own ſentiments, added to his activity, animated him to ſignalize himſelf in the ſervice of his new ſovereign; and accordingly, in the firſt engagement in this reign, againſt the French off Bantry-bay, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much, by his courage and conduct, in the Edgar, a third-rate, that upon king William's coming down to Portſmouth, he was pleaſed to confer on him the honour

nour of knighthood: and being employed in June 1691, to convoy the king and his army to Ireland, his majeſty was ſo highly pleaſed with his indefatigable care and attention, that he not only promoted him to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue, but alſo delivered him his commiſſion with his own hands.

On the tenth of July, king William receiving intelligence that the enemy intended to ſend above twenty ſmall frigates into St. George's Channel, in order to burn the tranſports, he was ordered to cruize off Scilly, or in ſuch ſtation as he ſhould think proper for preventing that deſign. This he accordingly did till the twenty-firſt of July, without meeting with any thing remarkable; and then was joined by the Dover and Experiment, from the coaſt of Ireland, when he took a ketch which came out of Kinſale, on board of which were ſeveral officers who were following king James to France, to accompany him in his intended deſcent on England.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel ſailed afterwards to Kinſale, where he ſoon had an opportunity of demonſtrating his zeal for the ſervice. General Kirke being, with a ſmall number of men, before the ſtrong town of Waterford, could not take it, on account of a numerous garriſon in Duncannon-caſtle, commanded by general Bourk for king James, who gave out, that he would defend both the fort and the town to the laſt extremity, and as long as one ſtone remained upon another.

Sir Cloudeſly rightly judging, that this bravery in a great meaſure aroſe from the intelligence he had that general Kirke had not a ſingle cannon, ſent the latter word, that he would aſſiſt him not only with guns, but boats and men from his ſquadron: which propoſition being accepted by the general, the former ſurrendered the place before ſo much as one ſtone was beat from another.

The remainder of this year, Sir Cloudeſly ſpent moſtly in cruizing, till he was ordered to join Sir George Rooke's

Rooke's ſquadron; which convoyed king William from Holland, and did not return to the Downs till January following.

It was Sir Cloudeſly's happineſs, that, as his courage and ſincerity were equally unqueſtionable, and his ſervices were well intended, they generally were well received; ſo that, if at any time he miſſed of ſucceſs, nobody ever pretended to lay any imputations on his conduct. For this reaſon it gave the people very great ſatisfaction, when the king, in the ſpring of the year 1692, before his ſetting out for Holland, declared him rear-admiral of the red, and alſo commander of the ſquadron which was to convoy him thither.

On the admiral's return, he joined the grand fleet under admiral Ruſſell, and had no ſmall ſhare in the glorious victory at La Hogue; for the French, after an engagement of ſome hours, breaking their line, and Tourville, their admiral, towing away northward, the Engliſh Admiral gave the ſignal for chaſing, when it was diſcovered that all the enemy retired; at the ſame time, ſeveral broadſides were heard to the weſtward, though the ſhips that fired were not to be ſeen. This proved to be the brave Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, who, having weathered the admiral's own ſquadron, got between them and their admiral of the blue; but firing on the French for ſome time, both Tourville and the admiral of that ſquadron came to an anchor, but could not ſee each other, owing to the thickneſs of the weather.

In the ſucceeding year, 1693, the fleet was put under the joint command of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, Killigrew, and Delaval, the two latter declared Tories, and the former a determined Whig; who, from a mature conſideration of the orders they had received from the court, and the bad condition of the fleet at that time, might, though of political principles diametrically oppoſite, agree in this, that a cautious execution of their inſtructions was the ſafeſt method they could take; ſo that

that there was no great reaſon for the ludicrous picture, publiſhed at this time by the Dutch, in which the taking of the Smyrna fleet was repreſented at a diſtance, and Sir Cloudeſly Shovel on board his own ſhip with his hands tied behind him, each of his colleagues holding one end of the cord; as if he would have prevented this misfortune, had not Killigrew and Delaval oppoſed him.

But Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, upon an inquiry in parliament, defended both his colleagues and himſelf at the bar of the houſe, by ſo clear and plain an account of the matter, that all people were ſatisfied the commanders were innocent, in point of treachery, with which they had been charged by a vote of the houſe of commons.

Sir Cloudeſly's character, however, remaining unimpeached, we find him again, in the year 1694, employed in the Channel, and on the coaſt of France, as vice-admiral of the red, under the command of lord Berkley, admiral of the blue, in the expedition to Breſt, in which Sir Cloudeſly Shovel diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his dexterous re-embarkation of the forces ſent on that unfortunate attempt; as alſo when, on their return to England, the fleet was again ſent upon the French coaſt, to bombard Dieppe and other places.

Towards the cloſe of this year, lord Berkley going to London, the command devolved on Sir Cloudeſly; at which time, by his majeſty's expreſs command, he undertook the bombardment of Dunkirk; but this attempt proved unſucceſsful by the ſkill of the French engineer: and, to ſhew that no blame could be laid on him, he went with a boat within the enemy's works; where he was an eye witneſs of the impoſſibility of executing his orders: for which reaſon, on his return home, he was perfectly well received and continued to be employed. He bore his ſhare in the remaining part of the war; and after the concluſion of the peace of Ryſwick,

Ryſwick, in 1695, was always conſulted by his majeſty in all maritime affairs.

In the beginning of queen Anne's reign, he ſeems not to have been much in favour, and therefore, though admiral of the white, was not employed in any thing of importance, till, in 1702, he was ſent to Vigo, after Sir George Rooke had taken that place, in order to convoy home the ſpoils of the Spaniſh and French fleets.

Here he performed every thing with his uſual zeal and diligence; for, on his arrival at Vigo, on the ſixteenth of October, he uſed ſuch diſpatch, that he carried off whatever could be brought home; burnt the reſt; and, notwithſtanding the foulneſs of the ſhips, the ſtormy weather, and incumbrance of prizes, he arrived ſafe in the Downs in November.

In conſequence of this ſervice, the court reſolved to employ him in the moſt momentous affairs for the future; ſo that, in 1703, the command of the grand fleet up the Streights was conferred on him; where he did every thing in his power: for, though his inſtructions were very large, yet he wanted force to accompliſh any part of what they contained. Such conjunctures as theſe are the touchſtone of an admiral's ſkill and capacity, of which Sir Cloudeſly gave eminent proofs in this expedition; for he protected our trade from all attempts of the French; did all in his power for the relief of the Proteſtants in the Cevennois; he countenanced ſuch of the Italian princes and ſtates as were favourable to the cauſe of the allies; and ſtruck ſuch a panic into thoſe who were friends to the French, that they durſt not perform what they had promiſed to that court.

This he did with a fleet indifferently manned, and ſtill worſe victualled; inſomuch that, when the management of our maritime affairs was ſeverely cenſured that year, by the houſe of commons, all parties

agreed Sir Cloudeſly had done his duty in every reſpect.

In 1704, Sir George Rooke having the command of the grand fleet in the Mediterranean, Sir Cloudeſly Shovel was ſent with a powerful ſquadron to reinforce him; and by joining the fleet in the month of June, he was very inſtrumental in the ſucceſs which followed; thereby diſappointing all the French ſchemes, though that nation boaſted they ſhould be able, that ſummer, to reſtore their maritime power, and give law to the allies at ſea.

He bore a part in the glorious action off Malaga, on the thirteenth of Auguſt 1704; in which he behaved with the utmoſt bravery, and had the good fortune to eſcape very well, though, as he himſelf wrote in his letter, he never in his life took more pains to be well beaten; and was far from aſſuming to himſelf the glory of beating the French, while Sir George Rooke only looked on, or fought at a diſtance, as was aſſerted by his enemies; the contrary of which is evident, from his own letter. After this victory, the French never durſt face our fleets.

Upon Sir Cloudeſly Shovel's return, he was preſented to the queen, by George prince of Denmark, the lord high-admiral, and was very graciouſly received; and next year, it becoming neceſſary to ſend both a fleet and an army into Spain, he accepted of the joint-command of the former, with the earls of Peterborough and Monmouth.

Accordingly, in June, arriving at Liſbon with the fleet, which conſiſted of twenty-nine line-of-battle ſhips, towards the end of that month he ſailed from thence to Catalonia, and on the twelfth of Auguſt came before Barcelona, where the ſiege of that place had been undertaken by the Engliſh army, though very little ſuperior to the garriſon within the town.

Never was a more untoward ſituation than that in which Sir Cloudeſly found himſelf here; for, beſides a difference

difference of opinion which prevailed among the land officers, concerning the impracticability of the ſcheme, and the prince of Heſſe and the earl of Peterborough diſagreeing, all things neceſſary for carrying on the ſiege were wanting; ſo that their whole dependence was upon admiral Shovel; nor was that great man wanting in his zeal for the ſervice of the public; he ſupplied the batteries both with guns and men, and the army with military ſtores. In ſhort, it was principally owing to him that the place was then taken.

Sir Cloudeſly alſo commanded the fleet the next year, but did not arrive at Liſbon before the month of November: he, however, did all that could be expected from him, though his endeavours had not the wiſhed for ſucceſs. The generals and favourites of king Charles III. of Spain were ſo divided in their ſentiments, that nothing could be expected from their councils; nor was it in the power of Sir Cloudeſly to bring about a reconciliation between them, though their whole ſucceſs, and even the placing their maſter on the throne of Spain, abſolutely depended upon it.

At the beginning of the year 1707, Sir Cloudeſly had diſpoſed every thing in the moſt advantageous manner poſſible for ſecuring Alicant, and had probably ſucceeded, had not the troops, by an order from England, reembarked for the expedition againſt Toulon.

This attempt againſt Toulon was the laſt ſervice Sir Cloudeſly Shovel performed; for having left at Gibraltar three fifth-rates, and one ſixth, for the ſecurity of the coaſts of Italy, under the command of Sir Thomas Dilkes, he ſailed, with ten ſhips of the line, five frigates, four fire-ſhips, a ſloop, and a yacht for England.

On the morning of the twenty-ſecond of October, the fleet came into the ſoundings and lay-to about noon. At ſix in the evening the admiral made ſail, and ſtood away under his courſes, believing, as it is ſuppoſed, that he ſaw the lights on the iſland of Scilly;

but ſoon after, ſeveral of the fleet, and among the reſt the admiral's own ſhip, made ſignals of diſtreſs, and preſently ſtruck upon the rocks of Scilly. The Royal Anne, commanded by Sir George Byng, was near ſharing the ſame fate, one of the rocks being cloſe under her main chains; nor were the ſhips of Sir John Norris and lord Durſley at any great diſtance. Several young gentlemen of quality were on board the admiral's ſhip, the Aſſociation, and periſhed with him.

To what this unhappy accident was owing, is ſtill a ſecret; that they were all miſtaken in their reckoning is evident, but how ſuch a fatal miſtake happened was never known. A report indeed prevailed at that time, that the principal part of the crew had got drunk for joy, on their being ſo near home; but it is not natural to think that the officers, eſpecially thoſe that directed the ſhips courſe, could be guilty of ſuch an unguarded action, whatever the common ſailors might.

The next day the body of Sir Cloudeſly was thrown upon the ſhore of one of the iſlands of Scilly, where he was found by ſome fiſhermen, who, after ſtripping him, and taking from his finger an emerald ring of great value, buried him in the ſand; but Mr. Paſton, purſer of the Arundel, being on ſhore in the iſland, and hearing that ſuch a ring had been found, ſent for the perſons, and, after declaring the ring belonged to Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, obliged them to diſcover where they had buried the body; which he took up, and brought it in his own ſhip to Portſmouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and depoſited with great funeral pomp in Weſtminſter-abbey; where a coſtly monument of white marble was afterwards erected, by the queen's particular order, to convey to poſterity the memory of a man who had done ſuch eminent ſervice to his country.

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel was an accompliſhed ſea-officer, and always diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with the greateſt honour and integrity: he was a true lover

of

of his country, and always exerted himſelf for the honour of his ſovereign. In private life, he was an indulgent huſband, a tender parent, and a ſincere friend; it is therefore no wonder, that few men ever lived more beloved, or died more lamented.

He married the widow of Sir John Narborough his great friend and patron; and left, at his death, two daughters, co-heireſſes; the eldeſt of whom had married lord Romney, and the youngeſt Sir Narborough d'Aeth, baronet; and both theſe gentlemen were loſt with the admiral, on board the Aſſociation.

*** *Authorities.* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Biographia Britannica.

THE LIFE OF

SIR GEORGE ROOKE.

[A. D. 1650, to 1709.]

SIR GEORGE ROOKE, another celebrated naval commander, contemporary with the foregoing, was the ſon of a private gentleman of an ancient family, in the county of Kent: his father having beſtowed upon him a very liberal education, deſigned him for one of the learned profeſſions: but having diſcovered in him a ſtrong propenſity to the ſea-ſervice, which appeared to be inſurmountable, he thought it prudent to comply with it. Accordingly, he procured him a ſtation in the navy early in the reign of Charles II. from which he roſe by his merit to the rank of a captain, a ſhort time before the death of that monarch. In the ſucceeding reign he was not promoted, but merely retained in the ſervice, owing to the ſcarcity of good naval officers; for king James knew that captain Rooke wiſhed well to the cauſe of civil liberty, and therefore, as ſoon as the prince of Orange, afterwards king William, landed

in England, he was diſmiſſed, with ſeveral others, from the ſervice of king James, and immediately entered into that of the prince of Orange, ſo that he became in ſome meaſure inſtrumental in the ſucceſs of the Revolution.

Soon after the acceſſion of king William, Arthur Hubert, eſq. was appointed admiral of the Britiſh fleet deſtined to aſſiſt the land-forces in reducing Ireland to ſubmit to the new government; and in this expedition captain Rooke was raiſed to the rank of commodore, and had the command of a ſquadron, with which he greatly ſignalized himſelf.

In 1691, commodore Rooke was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, and had the honour to convoy his his majeſty to Holland, the beginning of that year, when he went over to be preſent at the general congreſs of the confederates held at the Hague, for the purpoſe of counteracting the ambitious projects of Louis XIV. The operations of the campaign in Flanders being ſettled, king William put himſelf at the head of the confederate army, in order to relieve Mons; but that place having ſurrendered to the French, his majeſty returned to England, under convoy of a Dutch fleet, in April; but his preſence in Holland being again required in May, he was carried over a ſecond time by rear-admiral Rooke.

The following year, in the well-known engagement between the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of admiral Ruſſell, rear-admiral Rooke fixed his reputation for courage and conduct by the moſt ſignal acts of bravery and judgment.

The engagement began on the 19th of May, and continued till the 24th; and, beſides the ſhare Rooke had in the general action, wherein he fought with uncommon bravery and ardour, he acquired great renown from the following enterprize. On the 22d the French had hauled-in thirteen of their ſhips very near to the ſhore; and on the 23d the admiral ſent in rear-admiral Rooke, with ſeveral men of war, fire-ſhips, and the boats of the fleet,

fleet, to deſtroy thoſe ſhips; but they had got them ſo far in, that none but the ſmall frigates could do any ſervice. However, Mr. Rooke himſelf boldly went in with the boats, and burned ſix of them that night; and about eight the next morning he burned the other ſeven, together with ſeveral other tranſport-ſhips, and ſome veſſels with ammunition.

His majeſty was ſo well pleaſed with Rooke's conduct and intrepidity upon this occaſion, that he granted him a conſiderable penſion for life, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood.

The ill ſucceſs of the Engliſh fleet, in 1693, was injurious to the whole nation; and his majeſty, upon his return from the Netherlands, could not forbear, even in parliament, to take notice of the miſmanagement of our naval affairs that ſummer; but he was ſo far from thinking Sir George had any ways been wanting in his conduct and duty, that he was pleaſed to appoint him, in the beginning of February, to be vice-admiral of the red; and, not long after, he was advanced, from vice-admiral of the red, to be admiral of the blue.

But it is not in victory alone that we are always to look for bravery and ſkill in a general or an admiral; even in the moſt unfortunate events they ſometimes give the moſt ſtriking proofs of ſuperior abilities. Such was the caſe of Sir George Rooke, who being appointed to convoy the Smyrna fleet, conſiſting of near 500 ſail of merchant ſhips, was attacked off Cape St. Vincent by the whole French fleet, conſiſting of 80 men of war, and Sir George had only 23; the confederate fleet having parted from him as ſoon as he was ſafe out of the Britiſh Channel. Yet ſuch was the pre-eminent courage and ſkill of this brave admiral, that he fought his way through the enemy's fleet, and gave an opportunity to upwards of 400 of the merchantmen to eſcape, to the great aſtoniſhment of all perſons ſkilled in naval affairs.

In 1694, his majeſty, in conſideration of his great ſervices,

ſervices, appointed Sir George Rooke to be one of the lords of the admiralty. From this time we hear no more of our admiral in his naval capacity for ſeveral years; but, in 1698, we find him choſen member of parliament for Portſmouth; in which capacity he diſcharged his duty with great fidelity and application, and with ſuch a ſpirit of freedom and independency, that he gave umbrage to the miniſtry, who wanted the king to remove him from the admiralty-board; but, greatly to his majeſty's honour, he conſtantly refuſed it; ſaying, Sir George Rooke has ſerved me faithfully at ſea, and I will never diſplace him for acting as he thinks moſt for the ſervice of his country in the houſe of commons."

The year 1699 was a year of peace all over Europe; but, in 1700, Sir George had a freſh opportunity to ſignalize his conduct in the Baltic: for a ſtrong confederacy having been formed by the czar of Muſcovy, the king of Denmark, and the king of Poland, againſt the young king of Sweden, and his brother-in-law the duke of Holſtein, and the Dane having actually invaded that duchy, the king of England, and the ſtates-general, not only interpoſed their good offices for mediating an accommodation, but fitted out ſquadrons of men of war, in order to ſail into the Sound, the more effectually to forward this deſign; and his Britannic majeſty thought nobody ſo fit for the joint ſervice of admiral and plenipotentiary as Sir George Rooke, of whoſe abilities and fidelity he had had ſo long experience.

Sir George, before the end of May, arrived with the ſquadron under his command before the Maeſe, and went himſelf to the Hague, to confer with the deputies of the ſtates on this affair. He went aboard again in a few days, and, being joined by the Dutch ſquadron under the command of lieutenant-admiral Allemond, they were detained for ſeveral days on the Dutch coaſts by contrary winds; however, they made a ſhift, before the end

end of June, to arrive at Gottenburg; and, on the eighth of July, entered the Sound without any oppoſition.

The Engliſh admiral ſaluted the caſtle of Cronenburg with three guns, and a like number was returned; the Dutch admiral gave nine, and the caſtle fired three in return.

The whole fleet conſiſted of thirty men of war, beſides fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels, and tenders. The Swediſh fleet having, in like manner, put to ſea, they came to an anchor near one another, on the fifteenth, near Landſcroon, beyond the iſle of Vere; upon which the Daniſh fleet retired under the guns of the citadel of Copenhagen.

It is very remarkable that, though the Engliſh and Dutch ſquadrons came to aſſiſt and ſave the Swedes from ruin, the latter took no notice of them that evening, all the next day, and part of the morning of the ſeventeenth; when the Engliſh admiral, having wiſely weighed matters, and purſuing his orders for precedency, commanded a ſignal to be made by a ſmall Dutch frigate, as if ſhe were a neutral ſhip, for all flags to come on board; where he repreſented the caſe ſo effectually to the Swedes, who expected to have the chief command, that, upon his return to his ſhip again, upon giving the ſignal, the whole fleet of Engliſh, Dutch, and Swedes, readily ſailed under his command to Copenhagen, which they pretended to bombard, without doing much damage; though they could have laid the city in aſhes.

But the admiral's inſtructions and deſigns tended only to peace; which being ſoon after happily concluded at Travendall, Sir George returned home about the middle of September, with the general applauſe of the people, for the great prudence and conduct he had ſhewn in ſo nice and tickliſh a conjuncture.

In the ſpring of the year 1701, his majeſty was pleaſed to conſtitute Sir George Rooke to be admiral and commander

commander in chief; but the war againſt France not breaking out, in the South of Europe, till next year, there was no naval enterpriſe yet undertaken by him. In the mean time, king James II. dying at St. Germains, and the French owning his pretended ſon for king of England, his majeſty, in this juncture of affairs, thought fit to call a new parliament, and Sir George Rooke was again elected for Portſmouth.

Upon this occaſion it was, that Sir George Rooke refuſed to ſacrifice the independency of an Engliſhman to titles or emoluments; for he voted for Mr. Harley to be ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, in oppoſition to the views of the court, though the king himſelf, rather too openly and partially, intereſted himſelf for Sir Thomas Lyttleton.

The death of king William, which happened during the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, prevented the deſigns of his enemies; and queen Anne ſucceeding to the crown, things took another turn; the clamours, which had been raiſed againſt Sir George by the miniſtry, ceaſed; and her majeſty, being ſenſible of his great ſervices and true merit, was pleaſed to confer, beſides the command of the fleet, an additional honour and truſt upon him, by appointing him to be vice-admiral and lieutenant of the admiralty of England, and lieutenant of the fleets and ſeas of this kingdom, under prince George of Denmark, her majeſty's huſband, who was conſtituted lord-high-admiral of England, and generaliſſimo of all her majeſty's forces by ſea and land.

In 1702, Sir George Rooke was appointed commander in chief jointly with the duke of Ormond, in the expedition againſt Cadiz; but, that expedition failing, on the twenty-firſt of September, the admiral, on his paſſage home with the whole fleet, ſent the Eagle, the Sterling Caſtle, and the Pembroke, with ſome tranſports, to water in Lagos-bay, where they arrived on the twenty-ſecond. The land-officers on board the Pembroke

Pembroke went immediately on ſhore, having with them Mr. Beauvoir, a gentleman of Jerſey, chaplain of that ſhip; who, there getting certain intelligence that the galleons and their convoy had put into Vigo, he acquainted captain Hardy with it, who, without delay, imparted the news to captain Wiſhart, who commanded the Eagle and all the ſquadron: upon which information, a conſultation of captains was immediately held; wherein it was reſolved, that this intelligence was of that importance, that a ſhip ſhould be ſent to acquaint Sir George Rooke with it; and, as captain Hardy had the beſt ſailer, and was maſter of the intelligence, captain Wiſhart ordered him to ſail a-head to find out the fleet; which he happily effected on the ſixth of October, when he acquainted Sir George Rooke with the whole matter.

The admiral imparted the ſame immediately to the Dutch admiral, declaring it as his opinion, that they ſhould all ſet ſail directly for Vigo. The Dutch admiral readily concurred with Sir George, who, the next day, called a council of flag-officers; wherein it was reſolved, that, as the attempting to deſtroy the French and Spaniſh ſhips at Vigo would be of great advantage to her majeſty, and no leſs honourable to her and her allies, and tend, in a great meaſure, to reduce the exorbitant power of France, the fleet ſhould make the beſt of their way to that port, and fall on immediately with the whole line, if there were room ſufficient for it; otherwiſe to attack the enemy with ſuch detachments as might render the enterpriſe moſt effectual and ſucceſsful.

The French admiral, to do him juſtice, had taken all poſſible precautions to ſecure his ſhips and the Spaniſh flota; for he not only had carried them up beyond a very narrow ſtreight, defended by a caſtle on the one ſide, and platforms on both ſides of the ſtreight, where he had planted his beſt guns, but had likewiſe laid athwart it a ſtrong boom, made up of maſts, yards, cables, top-

chains,

chains, and caſks, about twelve yards in circumference, and kept ſteady by anchors caſt on both ſides of it.

Our brave admiral, not at all diſcouraged with this, as ſoon as the confederate fleet came to an anchor before Vigo, which was on the eleventh of October, called a council of the ſea and land general officers; wherein it was reſolved, that, ſince the whole fleet could not attempt the enemy's ſhips where they lay, without apparent danger of running foul one upon another, a detachment of fifteen Engliſh and ten Dutch men of war, with the line of battle, and all the fire-ſhips, ſhould be ſent in, with orders to uſe their beſt endeavours to take or deſtroy the enemy's fleet; that the frigates and bomb-veſſels ſhould follow the rear of the detachment, and that the great ſhips ſhould move after them, and go in, if there ſhould be occaſion; that the army ſhould, at the ſame time, land and attack the fort on the ſouth ſide of Rodendella, and thence proceed on where they might moſt effectually annoy the enemy; that, becauſe it was not known what depth of water there might be, the attempt ſhould be made with the ſmalleſt ſhips; and that, to give the better countenance to the ſervice, all the flag-officers ſhould go in with the ſquadron.

For the better performance of theſe reſolutions, the admiral, with great zeal and unwearied vigilance, ſpent almoſt the whole night in going from ſhip to ſhip, in his own boat, to give the neceſſary directions, and to encourage both officers and ſeamen to diſcharge their duty.

The next day, about ten in the morning, the duke of Ormond having landed his men, and marching to attack the enemy by land, and at their platforms and forts, it was impoſſible the brave admiral could remain an idle ſpectator; and therefore, as ſoon as the land-forces were got on ſhore, he gave the ſignal to weigh; which was accordingly done, the line formed, and the

ſquadron

ſquadron was briſkly bearing up the boom; but when the van was got within cannon-ſhot of the batteries, it fell calm, ſo that they were conſtrained to come to an anchor again. However, not long after, it blowing a freſh gale, vice-admiral Hopſon, in the Torbay, being next the enemy, cut his cables, clapt on all his ſails, and, bearing up directly upon the boom, amidſt all the enemy's fire, broke through it at once, and caſt anchor between the Bourbon and L'Eſperance, two French men of war, which count Chateaurenaud had placed near the boom, and, with unparalleled reſolution, received ſeveral broadſides from them.

The reſt of vice-admiral Hopſon's diviſion, and vice-admiral Vandergoes, with his detachment, having weighed at the ſame time, ſailed a-breaſt towards the boom, to add the greater weight and force to the ſhock; but, being becalmed, they all ſtuck, and were obliged to hack and cut their way through. A freſh gale blowing again, the Dutch admiral made ſo good uſe of it, that, having gained the paſſage which the brave Hopſon had made, he boldly went in, and made himſelf maſter of the Bourbon.

All this while, vice-admiral Hopſon was in extreme danger; for, being clapped on board by a French fire-ſhip, by which his rigging was preſently ſet on fire, he expected every moment to be burned; but it fortunately happened that the French veſſel, which was a merchantman laden with ſnuff, and made up in haſte into a fire-ſhip, being blown up, the ſnuff partly extinguiſhed the fire, and preſerved him; however, he received conſiderable damage in this memorable action; for, beſides the having his fore-top-maſt ſhot by the board, one hundred and fifteen men killed and drowned, and nine wounded, moſt of his ſails were burned and ſcorched, his fore-yard burned to a coal, and his lar-board and ſhrouds fore and aft burned at the dead-eyes, inſomuch that he was forced afterwards to leave

his own ſhip, and hoiſt his flag on board the Monmouth.

At the ſame time, captain Bucknam, in the Aſſociation, laid his broad-ſide againſt a battery of ſeventeen guns on the other ſide of the harbour; ſo that, for a conſiderable time, there was a continual firing of great and ſmall ſhot on both ſides, till the French admiral, ſeeing the platform and forts in the hands of the victorious Engliſh, his fire-ſhip ſpent in vain, the Bourbon taken, the boom cut in pieces, and the confederate-fleet pouring in upon him, he ſet fire to his own ſhip, and ordered the reſt of the captains under his command to follow his example; yet he could not be ſo punctually obeyed but that ſeveral men of war and galleons were taken by the Engliſh and Dutch.

The admiral arrived ſafely in the Downs on the 17th of November, and ſoon after at London, where he was received in a kind of triumph by the joyful applauſe of the people.

Her majeſty having, in the mean time, thought fit to call a new parliament, to meet on the 20th of October, Sir George, during his abſence, had been choſen again a member for Portſmouth; and upon taking his ſeat the firſt time after his return, the ſpeaker, purſuant to the reſolution of the houſe, which had been paſſed for giving him their thanks for his ſervice, delivered himſelf to him in this manner:

"Sir George Rooke,

"You are now returned to this houſe, after a moſt glorious expedition. Her majeſty began her reign with a declaration, that her heart was truly Engliſh; and Heaven hath made her triumph over the enemies of England: for this, thanks have been returned in a moſt ſolemn manner to Almighty God.

"There remains yet a debt of gratitude to thoſe who have been the inſtruments of ſo wonderful a victory, the duke of Ormond, and yourſelf, who had the command of the ſea and land-forces.

"In

"In former times, admirals and generals have had ſucceſs againſt France and Spain ſeparately; but this action at Vigo hath been a victory over them confederated together: you have not only ſpoiled the enemy, but enriched your own country: common victories bring terror to the conquered; but you brought deſtruction upon them, and additional ſtrength to England. France hath endeavoured to ſupport its ambition by the riches of India; your ſucceſs, Sir, hath only left them the burden of Spain, and ſtript them of the aſſiſtance of it: the wealth of Spain, and ſhips of France, are, by this victory, brought over to our juſter cauſe. This is an action ſo glorious in the performance, and ſo extenſive in its conſequence, that, as all times will preſerve the memory of it, ſo every day will inform us of the benefit.

"No doubt, Sir, but in France you are written in remarkable characters in the black liſt of thoſe who have taken French gold; and it is juſtice done to the duke of Ormond, and your merit, that you ſhould ſtand recorded in the regiſters of this houſe, as the ſole inſtruments of this glorious victory. Therefore this houſe came to the following reſolution:

"Reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the thanks of this houſe be given to the duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke, for the great and ſignal ſervice performed by them for the nation at ſea and land, which thanks I now return you."

To which Sir George Rooke made the following reply:

"Mr. Speaker,

"I am now under great difficulty how to expreſs myſelf upon this very occaſion. I think myſelf very happy, that, in zeal and duty to your ſervice, it hath been my good fortune to be the inſtrument of that which may deſerve your notice, and much more the return of your thanks. I am extremely ſenſible of this great ho-

nour, and ſhall take all the care I can to preſerve it to the grave, and to convey it to my poſterity without ſpot and blemiſh, by a conſtant affection and zealous perſeverance in the queen's and your ſervice. Sir, no man hath the command of fortune, but every man hath virtue at his will; and, though I may not always be ſucceſsful in your ſervice, as upon this expedition, yet I may preſume to aſſure you, I ſhall never be the more faulty.

"I muſt repeat my inability to expreſs myſelf upon this occaſion; but as I have a due ſenſe of the honour this houſe hath been pleaſed to do me, I ſhall always retain a due and grateful memory of it; and, though my duty and allegiance are ſtrong obligations upon me to do the beſt in the ſervice of my country, yet I ſhall always take this to be a particular tie upon me to do right and juſtice to your ſervice upon all occaſions."

On the thirteenth of December, Sir George was ſworn of her majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council.

Our admiral was very little at ſea in 1703; he went out indeed with a ſquadron of men of war in the beginning of the ſummer: and having cruiſed of Belle-iſle, he put the country into an unſpeakable conſternation; and, after having taken many prizes, coming home from the Weſt Indies, returned to St. Helens, that the grand fleet, under the command of Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, might be the ſooner ready to ſail for the Streights, where they did nothing memorable; ſo that Sir George was again appointed to command the fleet that was to carry the new king of Spain, the archduke Charles, who had been raiſed to that throne under the title of Charles III. by the ceſſion of the rights of the emperor of Germany, and of his ſon the king of the Romans, in his favour, to Portugal, then in alliance with England.

They encountered a moſt terrible ſtorm in the beginning

ginning of the year, and put back into the Channel; however, they ſailed again on the 12th of February 1704, and gained Liſbon on the 27th.

The new Spaniſh monarch was ſo perfectly ſatisfied with the reſpect ſhewn him by Sir George Rooke, that he made him ſeveral magnificent preſents; and having performed this ſervice, the admiral, agreeably to his further inſtructions, ſet ſail for the Mediterranean, having the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, with a body of land-forces on board. On the 18th of May, they appeared before Barcelona, which place they expected would revolt from Philip V. then in poſſeſſion of the crown of Spain, in favour of Charles III. They had ſo very well concerted their meaſures, that nothing but the diſcovery of a deſign to give up the place to them, a few hours before the landing of the troops could have hindered them from being maſters of that important city; but this accident obliged the Engliſh forces to return on board again; to favour which, the admiral threw a few bombs into the place, having otherwiſe no deſign to injure it.

After this attempt, the admiral obliged the governor of the caſtle of Althea to ſurrender with his garriſon, and then blew up the caſtle.

In the month of July, the fleet paſſed Cape Palas, and coming through the Streights of Lagos-bay, Sir Cloudeſly Shovel joined them with a reinforcement from England, conſiſting of thirty-three ſhips of the line-of-battle.

On the 17th, the admiral called a council of war; and finding, by the freſh inſtructions ſent him from England by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, that he was to act in every undertaking in concert with the miniſtry of the kings of Spain and Portugal, it was reſolved to paſs up the Streights again, and there expect inſtructions from the king of Portugal and Charles III. of Spain. It was at length reſolved, by theſe monarchs, that the Britiſh fleet ſhould make a ſudden attempt up-

on Gibraltar. Accordingly, they got into the Bay by the twenty-firſt; and the Engliſh and Dutch marines, to the number of one thouſand eight hundred, were put on ſhore, with the prince of Heſſe at the head of them, on the neck of land to the northward of the town; and the admiral, the next morning, gave orders that the ſhips which he had appointed to cannonade the place, under the command of rear-admiral Byng and rear-admiral Vanderduſen, as alſo thoſe which were to batter the ſouth mole-head, commanded by captain Hicks in the Yarmouth, ſhould range themſelves accordingly; but the wind blowing contrary, they could not poſſibly get to their ſtations till the day was ſpent.

In the mean while, to amuſe the enemy, the admiral ſent captain Whitaker in with ſome boats, who burned a French privateer of twelve guns at the old mole; but the ſhips being all placed on the twenty-third, ſoon after day-break, the admiral gave the ſignal for the beginning of the cannonade; which was performed with great fury, about fifteen thouſand ſhot being made in five or ſix hours againſt the town; inſomuch that the enemy were ſoon beaten from their guns, eſpecially at the ſouth mole-head; whereupon the admiral, conſidering that, by gaining that fortification, they ſhould, of conſequence, reduce the town, he ordered captain Whitaker, with all the boats armed, to endeavour to poſſeſs himſelf of it, which he performed with great expedition: but captain Hicks and captain Jumper, who lay next the mole, had puſhed on ſhore with their pinnaces and ſome other boats before the reſt could come up. The enemy thereupon ſprung a mine that blew up the fortifications on the mole, killed two lieutenants, and about forty men, and wounded about ſixty: however, our brave ſeamen kept poſſeſſion of the platform which they had made themſelves maſters of; and captain Whitaker landing with the reſt of the ſeamen which the admiral had ordered for this ſervice, they advanced and took a redoubt half way between the

mole

mole and the town, and poſſeſſed themſelves of many of the enemy's cannon.

The admiral hereupon ſent a letter to the governor, and, at the ſame time, ſent a meſſage to the prince of Heſſe, to ſend him a peremptory ſummons; upon which the town capitulated, and ſurrendered on the 24th of July 1704, and the garriſon were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, and three pieces of braſs cannon. The inhabitants were to have the ſame privileges as in the reign of king Charles II.

Thus it appears that England ſtands indebted chiefly to the conduct and intrepidity of this brave admiral for one of her moſt valuable conqueſts, which the Spaniards have in vain, three times attempted to recover.

The laſt public ſervice performed for his country by Sir George Rooke, was an engagement, about twelve leagues off Malaga, with the French fleet under the command of the count de Thouloufe, high-admiral of France. The following particulars are related of this affair.

On the 9th of Auguſt, little more than a fortnight after the conqueſt of Gibraltar, admiral Rooke returning from watering the fleet on the coaſt of Barbary to Gibraltar, with little wind eaſterly, his ſcouts to the windward made the ſignals of ſeeing the enemy's fleet; which, according to the account they gave, conſiſted of 66 ſail, and were about ten leagues to the windward of him. A council of flag-officers was called wherein it was determined to lay to the eaſtward of Gibraltar to receive and engage them; but perceiving that night, by the report of their ſignal-guns, that they wrought from him, he followed them in the morning with all the ſail he could make.

On the eleventh, he forced one of the enemy's ſhips a-ſhore near Fuengorolo. The crew quitted her, ſet her on fire, and ſhe blew up immediately. He continued ſtill purſuing them; and, on the twelfth, not hearing any of their guns at night, nor ſeeing any of their

ſcouts

ſcouts in the morning, the admiral had a jealouſy that they might make a double, and, by the help of their gallies, ſlip between him and the ſhore to the weſtward; whereupon he called a council of war; wherein it was reſolved, That, in caſe he did not ſee the enemy before night, they ſhould make the beſt of their way to Gibraltar; but ſtanding into the ſhore about noon, they diſcovered the enemy's fleet and gallies to the weſtward, near Cape Malaga, going away large. He immediately made all the ſail he could after them, and continued the chace all night.

On Sunday the 13th, in the morning, he was within three leagues of the enemy, who brought to, with their heads to the ſouthward, the wind being eaſterly, formed their line, and lay by to receive him. Their line conſiſted of fifty-two ſhips, and twenty-four gallies; they were very ſtrong in the centre, and weaker in the van and rear; to ſupply which, moſt of their gallies were divided into thoſe quarters. In the centre was Monſieur de Thouloufe with the white ſquadron; in the van, the white and blue; and in the rear, the blue: each admiral had his vice and rear-admiral.

Our line conſiſted of fifty-three ſhips, the admirals Byng and Dilk being in the centre; Sir Cloudeſly Shovel and Sir John Leake led the van; and the Dutch, the rear. The admiral ordered the Swallow and Panther, with the Lark and Newport, and two fire-ſhips, to lie to the windward of them, that, in caſe the enemy's van ſhould puſh through our lines, with their gallies and fire-ſhips, they might give them ſome diverſion.

They bore down upon the enemy in order of battle, a little after ten o'clock, when being about half-gun-ſhot from them, they ſet all their ſails at once, and ſeemed to intend to ſtretch a-head and weather them; ſo that the admiral, after firing a chace-gun at the French admiral, to ſtay for him, of which he took no notice, put the ſignal out, and began the battle, which

fell

fell very heavy on the Royal Catharine, the St. George, and the Shrewſbury.

About two in the afternoon, the enemy's van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the day, when the enemy bore away, by the help of their gallies, to the leeward. In the night, the wind ſhifted to the northward, and in the morning to the weſtward; which gave the enemy the wind of us. They lay by, all day, within three leagues of one another, repairing their defects; and at night they filed and ſtood to the northward.

On the 13th, in the morning, the enemy was got four or five leagues to the windward of our fleet; but a little before noon we had a breeze of wind eaſterly, with which the admiral bore down on them till four o'clock in the afternoon; but being too late to engage, they brought to, and lay with their heads to the northward all night.

On the 16th, in the morning, the wind being ſtill eaſterly, hazy weather, and having no ſight of the enemy or their ſcouts, they filed and bore away to the weſtward, ſuppoſing they would have gone away for Cadiz; but, being adviſed from Gibraltar and the coaſt of Barbary, that they did not paſs the Streights, our admiral concluded they had been ſo ſeverely treated, as to oblige them to return to Toulon.

This engagement was ſo much the more glorious to her majeſty's arms, becauſe the enemy had a ſuperiority of ſix hundred great guns, and likewiſe the advantage of cleaner ſhips, being lately come out of port; not to mention the great uſe of their gallies, in towing on or off their great ſhips, and in ſupplying them with freſh men as often as they had any killed or diſabled. But all theſe advantages were ſurmounted by the prudence and good conduct of our admiral and his officers, and by the undaunted courage of our ſeamen.

Admiral Rooke now ſailed for Gibraltar, and having left two thouſand Engliſh marines in that garriſon, with

a ſufficient quantity of ſtores and proviſions, and forty-eight guns, beſides one hundred that were in the town before, the ſeaſon of the year being far advanced, he returned home with the great ſhips, and was very favourably received by her majeſty, and his royal highneſs the lord-high-admiral; the queen was alſo congratulated, by the houſe of commons, upon the victory obtained by her fleet under the command, and by the courage and conduct of Sir George Rooke.

The reverend Dr. Stanhope, in his thankſgiving ſermon before her majeſty at St. Paul's, on the 27th of June 1706, very juſtly ſays of the taking of Gibraltar, and of this ſea-fight, "That we were ſoon inſtructed in the mighty concernment of the firſt, by the ſeaſonable refreſhments our fleets found there, after a battle fought, on our ſide, with great inequality of force, but with what reſolution and ſucceſs we need no other evidences than the diſability of making any formidable figure at ſea, which the French have manifeſtly lain under ever ſince."

Yet all theſe public acknowledgments of his great merit could not ſilence the calumny of his enemies; and though Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, and the Dutch admiral Calemburg, confirmed the teſtimony of the other officers and ſeamen, a party was formed againſt him at court, by whom only a ſmall ſhare of the late ſignal ſucceſſes at ſea were attributed to him, as commander in chief. Chagrined at this treatment, and reſolved at the ſame time, that the affairs of the nation ſhould not receive any obſtruction or diſturbance upon his account, he retired from public buſineſs, and paſſed the remainder of his days as a private gentleman, for the moſt part, at his ſeat in Kent. A private ſeal was offered him for paſſing his accounts; but he refuſed it, and made them up in the ordinary way, with all the exactneſs imaginable.

Sir George did not long ſurvive his retirement from the ſcenes of active life; for the gout, which had for many

many years greatly afflicted him, put a period to the life of this great man in January 1709.

He was thrice married; firſt, to a daughter of Sir Thomas Howe, of Cold Berwick in Wiltſhire, baronet: next, to a daughter of colonel Francis Lutterell, of Dunſter-caſtle in Somerſetſhire, who died in child-bed of her firſt child, George Rooke, eſq. the ſole heir of his father's fortune; laſtly, to a daughter of Sir —— Knatchbull, of Merſham Hatch in Kent, baronet.

Sir George's zeal for the church, and his adherence to that ſet of men, who, in his time, were known by the name of Tories, made him the darling of one party, and expoſed him no leſs to the averſion of the other. This is the cauſe that an hiſtorian finds it difficult to obtain his true character from the writings of thoſe who flouriſhed in the ſame periods of time. However, the ingenious and impartial Dr. Campbell, in his "Lives of the Admirals," which is by much the beſt naval hiſtory extant, has drawn ſo maſterly and juſt a character of him, that we cannot more properly conclude this life than with a tranſcript of it.

"He was certainly an officer of great merit, if either conduct or courage could intitle him to that character. The former appeared in his behaviour on the Iriſh ſtation, in his wiſe and prudent management, when he preſerved ſo great a part of the Smyrna fleet; and particularly in the taking of Gibraltar, which was a project conceived and executed in leſs than a week. Of his courage he gave abundant teſtimonies, eſpecially in burning the French ſhips at La Hogue, and in the battle off Malaga, where he behaved with all the reſolution of a Britiſh admiral; and, as he was firſt in command, was firſt alſo in danger. In party matters he was perhaps too warm and eager; for all men have their failings, even the greateſt and beſt; but in action he was perfectly cool and temperate; gave his orders with the utmoſt ſerenity; and, as he was careful in marking the conduct of his officers, ſo his candour and juſtice were

were always conſpicuous in the accounts he gave of them to his ſuperiors; he there knew no party, no private conſiderations; but commended merit whenever it appeared. He had a fortitude of mind that enabled him to behave with dignity upon all occaſions, in the day of examination as well as in the day of battle; and though he was more than once called to the bar of the houſe of commons, yet he always eſcaped cenſure; as he likewiſe did before the lords; not by ſhifting the fault upon others, or meanly complying with the temper of the times; but by maintaining ſteadily what he thought right, and ſpeaking his ſentiments with that freedom which becomes an Engliſhman, whenever his conduct in his country's ſervice is brought in queſtion. In a word, he was equally ſuperior to popular clamour and popular applauſe; but, above all, he had a noble contempt for foreign intereſts when incompatible with our own; and knew not what it was to ſeek the favour of the great, but by performing ſuch actions as deſerved it. In his private life, he was a good huſband and kind maſter; lived hoſpitably towards his neighbours, and left behind him a moderate fortune; ſo moderate, that, when he came to make his will, it ſurpriſed thoſe who were preſent; but Sir George aſſigned the reaſon in few words: "I do not leave much (ſaid he), but what I leave was honeſtly gotten; it never coſt a ſailor a tear, or the nation a farthing."

*** *Authorities.* Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times. Biog. Britan. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.

THE

THE LIFE OF

SIR JOHN HOLT, KNT.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

[A. D. 1642, to 1709.]

THIS great ornament of the law, whoſe character deſerves to be held in the higheſt veneration to lateſt poſterity, both as a patriot and a judge, was the ſon of Sir Thomas Holt, an eminent lawyer, who flouriſhed in the reign of Charles II. and was recorder of the town of Abingdon in Berkſhire. Our excellent judge was born at Thame, in Oxfordſhire, in the year 1642; and his father ſoon after removing to Abingdon, he received the firſt rudiments of education at the free-ſchool of that place; from which he was removed at a proper age to Oxford, and entered a fellow-commoner of Oriel-college, under the tuition of Mr. Francis Barry; he remained, however, but a ſhort time at the univerſity, not long enough to intitle him to a degree; for, in 1658, the 17th year of his age, he entered himſelf of Gray's Inn, before he took a degree; ſome time after which, he was called to the bar, where he applied himſelf with ſuch great induſtry to the ſtudy of the common law, that he ſoon became a very eminent barriſter.

In 1685, Mr. Holt was made recorder of London, by the king's letters patent. The reaſon of his being appointed to this office by the crown, as was alſo the caſe with his predeceſſor, was that the city of London had been deprived of its charter and privileges in the year 1683; but theſe were reſtored to them again at the Revolution.

Mr. Holt executed the office of recorder with great ability, for about a year and a half; and, in the mean time received the honour of knighthood; however, he

was then removed, becauſe he would not aſſiſt in ſupporting the diſpenſing power, which king James II. was ſolicitous to exerciſe. It is ſaid, that Holt alſo gave offence at court in another inſtance, by refuſing to expound the law agreeably to his majeſty's pleaſure.

In 1686, he was called to the degree of ſerjeant at law; and being choſen a member of the Convention Parliament in 1688, he was appointed to be one of the managers for the commons, at the conferences held with thoſe of the lords, about the abdication and the vacancy of the throne: and on that important occaſion he had an opportunity of diſplaying his great abilities, and his attachment to a legal and limited government; which probably contributed to his advancement after the Revolution.

King William and queen Mary being now fixed upon the throne, on the 4th of May 1689, Sir John Holt was made lord-chief-juſtice of the court of King's Bench; and ſoon after was ſworn a member of the privy-council. Biſhop Burnet ſays, "That though he was a young man for ſo high a poſt, yet he maintained it all his time with an high reputation for capacity, integrity, courage, and great diſpatch; ſo that, ſince the lord-chief-juſtice Hale's time, that bench had not been ſo well filled as it was by him."

During the time lord-chief-juſtice Holt preſided in the court of King's Bench, many caſes of the utmoſt importance, and highly affecting the lives, rights, liberties, and properties, of the people, came in judgment before him.

There was a remarkable clearneſs and perſpicuity of ideas in his lordſhip's definitions; a diſtinct arrangement of them in the analyſis of his arguments; and the real and natural difference of things was made moſt perceptible and obvious, when he diſtinguiſhed between matters which bore an untrue reſemblance to each other. Having thus rightly formed his premiſes, he ſeldom erred in his concluſions. His arguments were inſtructive

inſtructive and convincing; and his integrity would not ſuffer him to deviate from truth and juſtice to gratify thoſe of the moſt exalted rank, not even in compliance to his prince, or to either houſe of parliament.

A moſt remarkable inſtance of his public ſpirit, fortitude, and integrity, is exhibited in the following cauſe:

On the 20th of June 1694, lord-chief-juſtice Holt delivered his moſt excellent argument, in the famous caſe of lord Banbury. The caſe was, that an indictment had been found at Hicks's Hall againſt the defendant, lord Banbury, by the name of Charles Knollys, Eſq. for the murder of captain Lawſon (who had married the ſiſter of the defendant), and the indictment was removed by *certiorari* into the King's Bench, where the defendant pleaded a miſnomer in abatement, viz. that William Knollys, viſcount Wallingfort, by letters patent under the great ſeal of England (which he produced in court), bearing date the 18th day of Auguſt, 2d Car. I. was created earl of Banbury, to have and to hold the dignity to him and the heirs male of his body, lawfully begotten; that William had iſſue Nicholas, who ſucceeded William in the dignity, from whom the dignity deſcended upon the defendant, as ſon and heir to Nicholas. The attorney-general replied to this plea, that the defendant, upon the 13th of December, 4th of William and Mary, preferred a petition to the houſe of peers, then in parliament aſſembled, that he might be tried by his peers; and that, after long conſiderations and debates, the houſe of peers diſmiſſed his petition, *ſecundum legem parliamenti*, and diſallowed his peerage, and made an order, that the defendant ſhould be tried by the courſe of the common law. To this replication, the defendant demurred, and the attorney-general joined in demurrer.

The caſe was ſeveral times ſolemnly argued at the bar, by Sir Edward Ward, attorney-general, Sir Tho-

mas Trevor, ſolicitor-general, and Sir William Williams, counſel for the crown; and by ſerjeant Pemberton, ſerjeant Levinz, and Sir Bartholomew Shower, for the defendant. The court of King's Bench unanimouſly gave their opinion in favour of lord Banbury; but it was lord-chief-juſtice Holt who chiefly diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion.

He gave it as his opinion in the ſtrongeſt terms, that lord Banbury was intitled to the privilege of peerage; and that the court of King's Bench could pay no regard to the order of the houſe of lords, by which it was attempted to deprive that nobleman of his privilege; becauſe peerage was an inheritance, and all inheritance muſt be determined by the law of the land, and not by an ordinance of the houſe of peers. He obſerved, "that the houſe of lords has no juriſdiction in an original cauſe, becauſe that ſupreme court is the laſt reſort. If the parliament (he ſaid), took cognizance of original cauſes, the party would loſe his appeal, which the common law indulgeth in all caſes, for which reaſon the parliament is kept for the laſt reſort; and cauſes come not there, until they have tried all judicatories. If a peer commits treaſon, or any other crime, he ought to be tried by his peers; but that does not give them any right to deprive him of his peerage, when the diſcuſſion of his title does not come in a legal manner before them. The houſe of peers (he agreed), has juriſdiction over its own members, and is a ſupreme court; but it is the law which has inveſted them with ſuch ample authorities; and therefore it is no diminution of their power, to ſay, that they ought to obſerve thoſe limits which this law has preſcribed for them, which, in other reſpects, hath made them ſo great." His lordſhip ſaid alſo, "that as to the law of parliament, which had been talked of, he did not know of any ſuch law; and every law which binds the ſubjects of this realm ought to be either the common law and uſage of the realm, or an act of parliament." He added,

"that

" that he conſidered what had been ſaid by the king's counſel, of the law of parliament, as only intended to frighten the judges; but (he ſaid), that he did not regard it; for though he had all reſpect and deference for that honourable body, yet he ſat there to adminiſter juſtice according to the law of the land, and according to his oath, and that he ſhould regard nothing but the diſcharge of his duty."

Lord-chief-juſtice Holt was afterwards ſummoned to give his reaſons for this judgment to the houſe of peers, and a committee was appointed to hear and report them to the houſe, of which the earl of Rocheſter was chairman. But Holt refuſed to give the reaſons for his judgment in ſo extrajudicial a manner. He ſaid, however, " that if the record was removed before the peers by writ of error, ſo that it came judicially before them, he would give his reaſons very willingly; but, if he gave them in this caſe, it would be of very ill conſequence to all judges hereafter in all caſes." At which anſwer, ſome lords were ſo offended, that they would have committed the chief-juſtice to the Tower. But it was not thought proper to proceed to ſuch extremities; and this diſpute about the matter in which lord Banbury ſhould be tried proved in the event very favourable to that nobleman; for the conſequence was, that he was not tried at all for the offence with which he was charged.

In 1698, a remarkable cauſe was tried before his lordſhip at Guildhall, wherein Richard Lane brought an action againſt Sir Robert Cotton, and Sir Thomas Frankland, as poſtmaſter-general, for that a letter of the plaintiff's being delivered into the poſt office, to be ſent by the poſt from London to Worceſter, by the negligence of the defendants in the execution of their office, the ſaid letter was opened in the poſt-office, and divers exchequer-bills therein incloſed were taken away. In the courſe of the trial, ſome difficult points

of law being ſtarted, the jury brought in a ſpecial verdict.

The caſe was ſeveral times argued at the bar; and three of the judges were of opinion, that judgment ought to be given for the defendants; but Holt gave his opinion in favour of the plaintiff. He ſaid, "It would be very hard upon the ſubject, if the action, brought in this caſe, was not a good one; for as the crown has a revenue of 100,000l. per annum, for the management of the poſt-office, care ought to be taken that letters were ſafely conveyed, and that the ſubjects ſhould be ſecured in their properties. He offered many other reaſons to ſupport his opinion; but, the other judges having determined otherwiſe, judgment was given for the defendants. However, a writ of error was afterwards brought, and allowed, on the reaſon which had been advanced by Holt; ſo that the final determination of this affair was in favour of the plaintiff.

In the year 1700, when the lord-chancellor Somers parted with the great-ſeal, king William preſſed the lord-chief-juſtice Holt to accept of it; but he replied, "That he never had but one chancery-cauſe in his life, which he loſt, and conſequently could not think himſelf fitly qualified for ſo great a truſt."

In the ſecond year of the reign of queen Anne, a very important cauſe was agitated by the judges, of what was then called "The Queen's Bench," relative to the right of election for members of parliament; and, on this occaſion, Holt greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a ſteady friend to the liberties of the ſubject. An action had been brought againſt the conſtables of Aylesbury, at the ſuit of one Aſhby, a burgeſs of that town, for refuſing to receive his vote in an election of a member of parliament, the conſtables being the returning officers in that borough. This was tried at the aſſizes, and it was found there, by the jury, that the conſtables had denied Aſhby a right, of which he was undoubtedly

edly in poſſeſſion; and they were caſt in damages. But a motion was made in the court of Queen's Bench, in arreſt of judgment, it being alleged that no action did lie, or had ever been brought on that account. When the caſe came to be argued, three of the judges, Powel, Powis, and Gould, gave it as their opinion, that no hurt was done to the man, or at leaſt none but what was too inconſiderable to deſerve the notice of the law; that the judging of elections belonged to the houſe of commons; that as this action was the firſt of its kind, ſo, if it was allowed, it would bring on an infinity of ſuits, and involve all officers concerned in elections in great difficulties.

Lord-chief-juſtice Holt differed totally from his brethren on this ſubject, and expreſſed his ſurpriſe at ſome arguments which they had advanced. He maintained, that the plaintiff Aſhby had a right and privilege to give his vote; and if he was hindered in the enjoyment or exerciſe of that right, he might legally bring an action againſt the diſturber. "If the plaintiff (ſays he), has a right, he muſt of neceſſity have a means to vindicate and maintain it, and a remedy if he is injured in the exerciſe or enjoyment of it; and, indeed, it is a vain thing to imagine a right without a remedy; for want of right and want of remedy are reciprocal.---It is no objection to ſay, that it will occaſion multiplicity of actions; for if men will multiply injuries, actions muſt be multiplied too; for every man that is injured ought to have his recompenſe. And if public officers will infringe mens' rights, they ought to pay greater damages than other men, to deter and hinder other officers from the like offences.---To allow this action will make public officers more careful to obſerve the conſtitutions of cities and boroughs, and not to be ſo partial as they commonly are in all elections, which is indeed a great and growing miſchief, and tends to the prejudice of the peace of the nation.---The right of voting at the election of burgeſſes, is a thing of the higheſt

higheſt importance, and ſo great a privilege, that it is a great injury to deprive the plaintiff of it.---A right that a man has to give his vote to the election of a perſon to repreſent him in parliament, there to concur to the making of laws which are to bind his liberty and property, is a moſt tranſcendent thing, and of an high nature, and the law takes notice of it as ſuch in divers ſtatutes.---The right of voting is a right in the plaintiff by the common law, and conſequently he ſhall maintain an action for the obſtruction of it." He offered many other learned and forcible arguments on the ſame ſide, and concluded, that the plaintiff ought to have judgment; but, the majority of the judges having given a different opinion, judgment was given for the defendants.

On the 14th of January 1703, this judgment was reverſed in the houſe of lords, and judgment given for the plaintiff, by fifty lords againſt ſixteen. Holt ſtill maintained his opinion in the houſe of peers, and obſerved, "That whenever ſuch a cauſe ſhould come before him, he ſhould direct the jury to make the returning officer pay well for depriving an elector of his vote. It is (ſaid he), denying him his Engliſh right; and if this action is not allowed, a man may for ever be deprived of it. It is a great privilege to chuſe ſuch perſons as are to bind a man's life and property by the laws they make."

But the affair of the electors and returning officers of Ayleſbury did not end here. In December 1704, John Paty, and four others, who had alſo commenced and proſecuted actions at common law againſt the conſtables of Ayleſbury, were committed to Newgate, by a warrant from the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, for the breach of the privileges of that houſe. The counſel for the Ayleſbury electors, having moved for an habeas corpus, they were brought up to the court of King's-Bench; and when the judges came to deliver their opinions, three of them were for remanding the priſoners

ers to Newgate; but Holt gave his opinion in the cleareſt and ſtrongeſt manner, that the priſoners ought to be diſcharged. The following has been publiſhed as containing the moſt remarkable paſſages in the chief-juſtice's ſpeech on this occaſion:

"I am very ſorry I am forced to differ from my brethren in opinion; but whatever inconveniences or dangers I may incur, I think myſelf obliged to act according to my conſcience. I muſt declare it is my opinion, that the priſoners ought to be diſcharged, becauſe it is an illegal commitment; and Magna Charta ſays, *Quid nemo impriſonetur niſi per legem terræ.* And if proſecuting a legal action in a legal method can juſtify a commitment, then no Engliſhman's freedom is ſafe.

"'Tis by the law of the land that the houſe of commons have their being, therefore it can never be in the power of the commons to controul the law. For my part, I know no privilege of parliament that can be valid, and at the ſame time contradict the law of England.

"It is by Magna Charta that the liberty of an Engliſhman is preſerved; and without deſtroying the conſtitution of England, the liberty of an Engliſhman cannot be taken from him, but for a legal cauſe.

"It is pretended, that acting legally is a breach of the privileges of the houſe of commons, and that we are not judges of it. This is impoſſible; when the law, by which the houſe of commons ſit, juſtifies the proſecuting this action and 'tis not in the power of the houſe of commons to ſuperſcede that power which gives them their eſſence.

"If we can diſcharge a perſon committed *per mandatum regis, a fortiori,* I think we can diſcharge from a commitment of the houſe of commons.

"The houſe of commons, 'tis true, have a power over their own members, and may commit them: but to ſay that their commitment of any other perſon (though never ſo unlawful) is unexaminable, will tend to make Engliſhmen

Engliſhmen ſlaves, which, while I ſit here, I can never conſent to.

The chief-juſtice then obſerving, that ſeveral members of the houſe of commons were in court; as, lord Dyſart, Mr. Bromley, &c. added as follows: "I hope never to be over-awed from doing juſtice; and I think we ſit here to adminiſter equal juſtice to all her majeſty's ſubjects; and therefore it is my judgment that theſe priſoners ought to be diſcharged." However, as the three other judges had given a contrary opinion, the majority prevailed, and the priſoners were remanded to Newgate.

Upon this, John Paty, and another of the priſoners, moved for a writ of error, to bring the matter before the houſe of lords. This writ was only to be obtained by petitioning the queen, that the judgment of the court of Queen's Bench might be brought before her majeſty in parliament. The commons were alarmed at theſe petitions, and carried up an addreſs to the queen, deſiring her majeſty not to grant the writ of error. The opinion of the judges was taken upon this; and ten of them, of whom Holt was one, agreed, that, in civil matters, a petition for a writ of error was a petition of right, and not of grace. It was therefore thought a very ſtrange thing, which might have moſt pernicious conſequences, for a houſe of commons to deſire the queen not to grant a petition of right, which was plainly a breach of law, and of her coronation-oath. And the houſe of peers, having received a petition from the priſoners for relief, paſſed ſeveral votes, among which were the following:

"That neither houſe of parliament has any power, by any vote or declaration, to create to themſelves any new privilege that is not warranted by the known laws and cuſtoms of parliament.

"That every freeman of England, who apprehends himſelf to be injured, has a right to ſeek redreſs by action at law; and that the commencing and proſecuting an action

action at common law againſt any perſon (not intitled to privilege of parliament) is legal.

"That the houſe of commons, in committing to Newgate John Paty, &c. for commencing and proſecuting an action at the common law, againſt the conſtables of Ayleſbury, for not allowing their votes in election of members to ſerve in parliament, upon pretence that their ſo doing was contrary to a declaration, a contempt of the juriſdiction, and a breach of the privilege of that houſe, have aſſumed to themſelves alone a legiſlative authority, by pretending to attribute the force of a law to their declaration; have claimed a juriſdiction not warranted by the conſtitution; and have aſſumed a new privilege, to which they can have no title by the laws and cuſtoms of parliament; and have thereby, as far as in them lies, ſubjected the rights of Engliſhmen, and the freedom of their perſons, to the arbitrary votes of the houſe of commons."

This affair at length occaſioned ſo violent a conteſt between the two houſes, that queen Anne could find no method of putting an end to the diſpute, but diſſolving the parliament; which was accordingly done on the 5th of April 1705. As to Holt, in all the concern which he had in this affair, he behaved with a firmneſs, integrity, and courage, which were generally applauded.

Sir John Holt held the office of chief-juſtice of the King's Bench for the ſpace of twenty-one years with the higheſt credit to himſelf, and advantage to his country. He died on the 5th of March 1709, about three o'clock in the afternoon, at his houſe in Bedford-row, after a lingering illneſs, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age; and was interred in the pariſh-church of Redgrave, in the county of Suffolk, where a ſumptuous marble monument was erected to his memory. He married Anne, the daughter of Sir John Cropley, Bart. but left no iſſue by her.

The following character is given of this great judge by the author of the Britiſh Biography: "Lord-chief-juſtice

juſtice Holt was one of the ableſt and moſt upright judges that ever preſided in a court of juſtice. He was a perfect maſter of the common-law, and applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to the functions of his important office. He poſſeſſed an uncommon clearneſs of underſtanding, and great ſolidity of judgment; and ſuch was his integrity and firmneſs of mind, that he could never be brought to ſwerve in the leaſt from what he thought to be law and juſtice. He was remarkably ſtrenuous in nobly aſſerting, and as vigorouſly ſupporting, the rights and liberties of the ſubject, to which he paid the greateſt regard; and would not ſuffer any reflections tending to depreciate them, to paſs uncenſured, or, indeed, without a ſevere reprimand."

In 1701, when the caſe of an appeal for murder was agitated, in which the king cannot pardon, it was obſerved by judge Treby, that an appeal was an odious, revengeful proſecution, and therefore deſerved no encouragement; upon which occaſion Holt, with great vehemence and zeal, ſaid, "He wondered that any Engliſhman ſhould brand an appeal with the name of an odious proſecution; for his part, he looked upon it to be a noble remedy, and a true badge of the Engliſh rights and liberties."

He had a juſt ſenſe of the extreme danger of calling in the military power, under the pretence of aſſiſting the civil magiſtrates in the execution of the laws: and he would on no occaſion countenance any thing of this kind. Whilſt he held the office of chief-juſtice, there happened a riot in Holborn, occaſioned by a wicked practice, in which ſome people had engaged, of decoying young perſons of both ſexes to the plantations. The perſons ſo decoyed they kept priſoners in a houſe in Holborn, 'till they could find an opportunity of ſhipping them off, which being diſcovered, the enraged populace were going to pull down the houſe. Notice of this being ſent to Whitehall, a party of the guards

guards were commanded to march to the place; but they firſt ſent an officer to lord-chief-juſtice Holt, to acquaint him with the deſign, and to deſire him to ſend ſome of his people to attend the ſoldiers, in order to give it the better countenance. The officer having delivered his meſſage, the chief-juſtice ſaid to him, "Suppoſe the populace ſhould not diſperſe at your appearance, what are you to do then?" "Sir (anſwered the officer), we have orders to fire upon them." "Have you Sir? (replied his lordſhip) then take notice of what I ſay: If there be one man killed, and you are tried before me, I will take care that you, and every ſoldier of your party, ſhall be hanged." "Sir (added he), go back to thoſe who ſent you, and acquaint them, that no officer of mine ſhall attend ſoldiers; and let them know at the ſame time, that the laws of this kingdom are not to be executed by the ſword; theſe matters belong to the civil power, and you have nothing to do with them." Upon this, the lord-chief-juſtice ordered his tipſtaves, with a few conſtables to attend him; and he went himſelf in perſon to the place where the tumult was; expoſtulated with the mob; and aſſured them that juſtice ſhould be done upon the perſons who were the objects of their indignation; upon which they all diſperſed quietly.

Holt's integrity and uprightneſs as a judge are celebrated in the 14th number of the Tatler, under the character of Verus. His lordſhip publiſhed Sir John Keyling's Reports, in 1708, with ſome notes of his own, and three modern caſes annexed, to which we refer the curious ſtudent; but two entertaining incidents of his life are preſerved in a collection of anecdotes of eminent perſons, publiſhed in two pocket volumes, in 1756, which, for the amuſement of our readers, we inſert in this place; though the truth of them is ſomewhat doubtful.

Lord-chief-juſtice Holt, it is ſaid, had been very wild in his youth, and was once out with ſome of his raking

companions on a journey into the country; they had ſpent all their money, and, after many conſultations what to do, it was reſolved that they ſhould part company, and try their fortune ſeparately. Holt got to an inn at the end of a ſtraggling village, and, putting a good face on the matter, ordered his horſe to be well taken care of, called for a room, beſpoke a ſupper, and looked after his bed. He then ſtrolled into the kitchen, where he ſaw a laſs about thirteen years old, ſhivering with an ague; he inquired of his landlady (a widow), who the girl was? and how long ſhe had been ill? The good woman told him that ſhe was her daughter, an only child, and that ſhe had been ill near a year, notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance ſhe could procure from phyſic, at an expence which had almoſt ruined her. He ſhook his head at the doctors, and bade the woman be under no farther concern, for that her daughter ſhould never have another fit. He then wrote a few unintelligible words in court-hand, on a ſcrap of parchment, which had been the direction to a hamper, and rolling it up, ordered that it ſhould be bound upon the girl's wriſt, and remain there 'till ſhe was well. As it happened, the ague returned no more; and Holt having continued there a week, now called for his bill with as much courage as if his pockets had been filled with gold: "Ah! God bleſs you (ſays the old woman), you're nothing in my debt, I'm ſure; I wiſh I was able to pay you for the cure you have performed upon my daughter; and if I had had the happineſs to ſee you ten months ago, it would have ſaved me forty pounds in my pocket." Holt, after ſome altercation, accepted of his week's accommodation as a gratuity, and rode away.

It happened, that many years afterwards, when he was one of the judges of the King's Bench, he went a circuit into the ſame country, and, among other criminals whom he was appointed to try, there was an old woman that was charged with witchcraft; to ſupport this

this charge, ſeveral witneſſes ſwore that ſhe had a ſpell, with which ſhe could either cure ſuch cattle as were ſick, or deſtroy thoſe that were well: in the uſe of this ſpell, they ſaid ſhe had been lately detected, and it having been ſeized upon her, was ready to be produced in court: the judge then deſired it might be handed up to him; it appeared to be a dirty ball covered with rags, and bound many times round with packthread; theſe coverings he removed with great deliberation one after another, and at laſt found a piece of parchment, which he knew to be the ſame that he had uſed as an expedient to ſupply his want of money. At the recollection of this incident he changed colour, and ſat ſilent; at length, recollecting himſelf, he addreſſed the jury to this effect: "Gentlemen, I muſt now relate a particular of my life, which very ill ſuits my preſent character, and the ſtation in which I ſit; but to conceal it would be to aggravate the folly for which I ought to atone, to endanger innocence and countenance ſuperſtition: this bauble, which you ſuppoſe to have the power of life and death, is a ſenſeleſs ſcrawl which I wrote with my own hand, and gave to this woman, whom, for no other cauſe, you accuſe as a witch." He then related the particular circumſtances of the tranſaction; and it had ſuch an effect upon the minds of the people, who now bluſhed at the folly and the cruelty of their zeal, that judge Holt's landlady was the laſt perſon that was ever tried for witchcraft in that county.

It is related of the ſame magiſtrate, that being once upon the bench at the Old Bailey, a fellow was tried and convicted of a robbery on the highway, whom the judge remembered to have been one of his old companions. He was moved by that curioſity which was natural, upon a retroſpection on paſt life, to know the fortune of the contemporaries with whom he was once aſſociated, and of whom he had known nothing for many years; he therefore aſked the fellow what was

become of Tom ſuch a one, and Will ſuch a one, and the reſt of the knot to which they belonged. The fellow fetched a deep ſigh, and making a low bow, "Ah! my lord (ſaid he), they are all hanged but your lordſhip and I."

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Macaulay's Hiſtory of England. Life of Sir John Holt, 8vo. 1764. Britiſh Biography, vol. vii. 8vo. 1772.

THE LIFE OF

GILBERT BURNET,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

[A. D. 1643, to 1715.]

GILBERT BURNET, the celebrated biſhop of Saliſbury, was born at Edinburgh, in the year 1643. His father was the younger brother of an ancient family in Aberdeenſhire, and bred to the civil law; in which, though he made no ſhining figure at the bar, his modeſty too much depreſſing his abilities, he raiſed himſelf to ſo great reputation, that, at the reſtoration of king Charles II. he was, in reward for his conſtant attachment to the royal party, appointed one of the lords of ſeſſion at Edinburgh. His mother was ſiſter to the famous Sir Alexander Johnſtoun, and a warm zealot for preſbytery.

Mr. Burnet being out of employment during the Inter-regnum, owing to his refuſing to acknowledge Cromwell's authority, he took upon himſelf the charge of his ſon's education, who, at ten years of age, was ſent to the college of Aberdeen. His father, who ſtill continued to be his principal inſtructor, obliged him to riſe to his ſtudies at four o'clock every morning; by which

which means he contracted a habit of early riſing, which he did not diſcontinue till a few years before his death, when age and infirmities rendered a greater proportion of reſt neceſſary.

Though his father had deſigned him for the church, yet he would not divert him from purſuing his own inclination to the civil and feudal law, to which ſtudy he applied himſelf a whole year, and received from it, as he was often heard to ſay, juſter notions concerning the foundations of civil ſociety and government than are maintained by ſome divines. He altered his reſolution of proſecuting this ſtudy, and applied, with his father's warm approbation, to that of divinity.

In his hours of amuſement, he ran through many volumes of hiſtory; and, as he had a very ſtrong conſtitution, and a prodigious memory, this cloſe application was no inconvenience to him; ſo that he made himſelf maſter of a vaſt extent of learning, which he had ready for his uſe upon all occaſions.

At eighteen, he was admitted a probationer, or expectant preacher; and, ſoon after, an offer of a good benefice was made him, which he declined.

In 1669, about two years after the death of his father, he came into England; and after ſix months ſtay at Oxford and Cambridge, returned to Scotland; which he ſoon after left again, to make a tour of ſome months, in 1674, in Holland and France. At Amſterdam by the help of a Jewiſh Rabbi, he perfected himſelf in the Hebrew language, and likewiſe became acquainted with the leading men of the different perſuaſions tolerated in that country; as Calviniſts, Arminians, Lutherans, Anabaptiſts, Browniſts, Papiſts, and Unitarians; amongſt each of which, he uſed frequently to declare, he met with men of ſuch unfeigned piety and virtue, that he became fixed in a ſtrong principle of univerſal charity, and an invincible abhorrence of all ſeverities, on account of religious differences in opinion.

On his return to Scotland, he was admitted into holy

orders, by the biſhop of Edinburgh, in 1665, and preſented to the living of Saltoun. The conduct of the Scotch biſhops ſeemed to him ſo unbecoming the Epiſcopal character, that he drew up a memorial of their abuſes.

In 1668, he was employed in negociating the ſcheme of accommodation between the Epiſcopal and Preſbyterian parties; and, by his advice, many of the latter were put into the vacant churches.

The year following, he was made divinity profeſſor at Glaſgow: where he continued four years and a half, equally hated by the zealots of both parties. In the frequent viſits he made to the ducheſs of Hamilton, he ſo far gained her confidence, as to be intruſted with the peruſal and arrangement of her papers relating to her father's and her uncle's miniſtry; which put him upon writing memoirs of the dukes of Hamilton, and occaſioned his being invited to London by the earl of Lauderdale, who offered to furniſh him with ſome anecdotes towards compiling thoſe memoirs.

During his ſtay in London, he was offered the choice of four biſhopricks in Scotland, which he refuſed.

On his return to Glaſgow, he married lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter to the earl of Caſſillis, a lady of great piety and knowledge, highly eſteemed by the Preſbyterians, to whoſe ſentiments ſhe was ſtrongly inclined. As there was ſome diſparity in their ages, that it might remain paſt diſpute that this match was wholly owing to inclination, not to avarice or ambition, the day before their marriage our author delivered the lady a deed, whereby he renounced all pretenſion to her fortune, which was very conſiderable, and muſt otherwiſe have fallen into his hands, ſhe herſelf having no intention to ſecure it.

In 1672, he publiſhed "A Vindication, &c. of the Church and State of Scotland;" which, at that juncture, was looked upon as ſo great a ſervice, that he was again offered a biſhoprick, and a promiſe of the next vacant archbiſhoprick,

archbiſhoprick, but did not accept of it, becauſe he remarked, that the great deſign of the court was to advance Popery.

In 1673, he took another journey to London; and, by the king's own nomination, after hearing him preach, was made one of his chaplains in ordinary.

Upon his return to Scotland, he retired to his ſtation at Glaſgow, but was obliged, the next year, to return to court, to juſtify himſelf againſt the accuſations of the duke of Lauderdale, who had repreſented him as the cauſe of the miſcarriages of all the court-meaſures in Scotland. The king received him very coldly, and ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the liſt of chaplains; yet, at the duke of York's intreaty, conſented to hear what he could offer in his own juſtification; with which he ſeemed to be ſatisfied: Nevertheleſs, as Lauderdale had not dropt his reſentment, Mr. Burnet, who was told that his enemies had a deſign to get him impriſoned, reſigned his profeſſor's chair at Glaſgow, and reſolved to ſettle in London.

He preached in ſeveral churches, and had been actually choſen miniſter of one, had not the electors been deterred from it by a letter in the king's name.

About this time, the living of Cripplegate being vacant, the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, in whoſe gift it was, hearing of his circumſtances, and the hardſhips he had undergone, ſent him an offer of the benefice; but, as he had been informed of their firſt intention of conferring it on Dr. Fowler, he generouſly declined it.

In 1675, at the recommendation of lord Hollis, whom he had known in France, ambaſſador at that court, he was, by Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, maſter of the rolls, appointed preacher of the chapel there, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the court. He was ſoon after choſen a lecturer of St. Clement's, and became one of the preachers that were moſt followed in town.

In 1697, he publiſhed his "Hiſtory of the Reformation;"

tion;" for which he had the thanks of both houſes of parliament.

Two years after, he printed the ſecond volume, which met with the ſame approbation as the firſt.

About this time, he attended a ſick perſon, who had been engaged in an amour with the earl of Rocheſter. The manner in which he treated her, during her illneſs, gave that lord a great curioſity of being acquainted with him. Whereupon, for a whole winter, he ſpent one evening a week with Mr. Burnet, who diſcourſed with him upon all theſe topics, upon which, ſceptics, and men of looſe morals, attack the Chriſtian religion. The happy effect of theſe conferences occaſioned the publication of his account of the life and death of that earl.

In 1682, when the adminiſtration was changed in favour of the duke of York, being much reſorted to by perſons of all ranks and parties; in order to avoid returning viſits, he built a laboratory, and went through a courſe of chemical experiments. Not long after, he refuſed a living of three hundred a-year, offered him by the earl of Eſſex, on the terms of not reſiding there, but in London.

His behaviour at the lord Ruſſell's trial, his attendance on him in priſon, and at his execution, with the ſuſpicion of his being concerned in drawing up that nobleman's ſpeech, having drawn on him the indignation of the court, he took a ſhort tour to Paris, where unuſual civilities were ſhewn him by the king of France's expreſs direction; and he became acquainted with ſeveral eminent perſons; but, not thinking it right to be longer abſent from the duties of his calling, he returned to London; and that very year, in purſuance of the king's mandate was diſcharged from his lectureſhip at St. Clement's; and having, on the fifth of November 1684, preached a ſermon at the Roll's-chapel, ſeverely inveighing againſt the doctrines of Popery, and the principles of the Papiſts, he was,

in

in December following, forbid to preach there any more.

On king James's acceſſion to the throne, having obtained leave to go out of the kingdom, he firſt went to Paris, and lived in great retirement, till contracting an acquaintance with brigadier Stouppe, a Proteſtant gentleman in the French ſervice, he made a tour with him to Italy.

He met with an agreeable reception at Rome: pope Innocent II. hearing of our author's arrival, ſent the captain of the Swiſs guards to acquaint him, he would give him a private audience in bed, to avoid the ceremony of kiſſing his holineſs's ſlipper; but Dr Burnet excuſed himſelf as well as he could.

One evening, upon viſiting cardinal Howard, he found him diſtributing ſome relics to two French gentlemen; when he whiſpered to him in Engliſh, that it was ſomewhat odd, that an Engliſh prieſt ſhould be at Rome, helping them off with the ware of Babylon. The cardinal ſmiled at the remark; and, repeating it in French to the gentlemen, bid them tell their countrymen how bold the heretics, and how mild the cardinals, were at Rome.

Some diſputes which our author had at Rome, concerning religion, beginning to be taken notice of, made it proper for him to quit that city; which, upon an intimation given him by the prince Borgheſe, he accordingly did, and purſued his travels through Switzerland and Germany.

In 1686, he came to Utrecht, with an intention to ſettle in ſome of the ſeven provinces. There he received an invitation from the prince and princeſs of Orange, to whom their party in England had recommended him, to come to the Hague; which he accepted. He was ſoon made acquainted with the ſecrets of their councils, and adviſed the fitting out of a fleet in Holland, ſufficient to ſupport their deſigns, and encourage their friends. This, and the account of his travels,

vels, in which he endeavoured to blend Popery and tyranny together, and repreſent them as inſeparable; with ſome papers, reflecting on the proceedings of England, that came out in ſingle ſheets, and were diſperſed in ſeveral parts of England, moſt of which Mr. Burnet owns himſelf the author of; alarmed king James, and were the occaſion of his writing twice againſt him to the princeſs of Orange: and inſiſting, by his ambaſſador, on his being forbidden the court; which, after much importunity, was done, though he continued to be truſted and employed as before, the Dutch miniſters conſulting him daily. And a report being circulated, that Mr. Burnet, then a widower, was on the point of being married to a conſiderable fortune at the Hague; in order to prevent this, and to put an end to his frequent conferences with the miniſters, a proſecution for high-treaſon was ſet on foot againſt him both in England and Scotland; but Burnet receiving the news thereof before it came to the ſtates, he avoided the ſtorm, by petitioning for, and obtaining, without any difficulty, a bill of naturalization, in order to his intended marriage with Mrs. Mary Scot, a Dutch lady of conſiderable fortune, who, with the advantage of birth, had thoſe of a fine perſon and underſtanding.

After his marriage with this lady, being legally under the protection of Holland, he undertook, in a letter to the earl of Middleton, to anſwer all the matters laid to his charge; and added, that, being now naturalized in Holland, his allegiance was, during his ſtay in theſe parts, transferred from his majeſty to the ſtates-general; and, in another letter, that, if upon non-appearance, a ſentence ſhould be paſſed againſt him, he ſhould, to juſtify himſelf, be forced to give an account of the ſhare he had in public affairs, in which he might be led to mention what he was afraid would not pleaſe his majeſty.

Theſe expreſſions gave ſuch offence to the Engliſh court,

court, that, dropping the former profecution, they proceeded againſt him as guilty of high-treaſon; a ſentence of outlawry was paſſed upon him; and thereupon the king firſt demanded him to be delivered up, and afterwards inſiſted on his being baniſhed the ſeven provinces; which the ſtates refuſed, alleging, that he was become their ſubject; and, if the king had any thing to lay to Dr. Burnet's charge, juſtice ſhould be done in their courts.

This put an end to all farther application to the ſtates; and Dr. Burnet, ſecured from any danger, went on in aſſiſting and forwarding the important affair of the Revolution. He gave early notice of it to the court of Hanover; intimating, that the ſucceſs of that event might probably end in a ſucceſſion of that illuſtrious houſe to the Britiſh crown. He wrote alſo ſeveral pamphlets in ſupport of the prince of Orange's deſigns, and aſſiſted in drawing up his declaration, &c. and, when he undertook the expedition to England, Dr. Burnet accompanied him as his chaplain.

After his landing at Exeter, he propoſed and drew up the aſſociation, and was of no ſmall ſervice on ſeveral occaſions, by a ſeaſonable diſplay of pulpit-eloquence, to animate the prince's followers, and gain over others to his intereſt.

Nor did his ſervices paſs unrewarded; for king William had not been many days on the throne before Dr. Burnet was advanced to the ſee of Saliſbury, in the room of Dr. Seth Ward, deceaſed, being conſecrated on the thirty-firſt of May 1689. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of lords, by declaring for moderate meaſures with regard to the clergy, who ſcrupled to take the oaths to William and Mary, and by exerting his abilities in promoting a legal toleration of the Proteſtant diſſenters.

In 1689, a paſſage in his "Paſtoral Letter to the Clergy of his Dioceſe, concerning the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary,"

Mary," which ſeemed to ground their title to the crown on the right of conqueſt, gave ſuch offence to both houſes of parliament, that they ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

As ſoon as the ſeſſion of parliament for that year was ended, he went down to his dioceſe, where he was very exact in the diſcharge of his function; and he was particularly ſcrupulous in conferring of orders, and admitting to livings.

His attendance in parliament was conſtant every winter; and, during the ſummer-ſeaſons, he reſided chiefly at Saliſbury, but never failed to make annual viſitations to all the principal towns in his dioceſe, when he made ſtrict inquiry into the conduct of the clergy, and took great pains to have youth inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, for which purpoſe he encouraged catechiſing, looking upon confirmation without it as an idle ceremony.

He was a warm and conſtant enemy to *pluralities* of livings, except where two churches lay near each other, and were but poorly endowed. But whenever *non-reſidence* was the conſequence of a plurality, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent it, and, in ſome caſes, even hazarded a ſuſpenſion, rather than give inſtitution. In his charges to the clergy, he exclaimed againſt pluralities, as a ſacrilegious robbery of the revenues of the church; and a remarkable effect produced by his zeal upon this ſubject is recorded. In his firſt viſitation at Saliſbury, he urged the authority of St. Bernard, who being conſulted by one of his followers, whether he might not accept of two benefices, replied, "And how will you be able to ſerve them both?" "I intend (anſwered the prieſt), to officiate in one of them by a deputy." "Will your deputy be damned for you too? (cried the ſaint.) Believe me, you may ſerve your cure by proxy, but you muſt be damned in perſon." This expreſſion ſo affected Mr. Kelſey, a pious and worthy clergyman there preſent, that he immediately reſigned

reſigned the rectory of Bemerton, worth two hundred pounds a-year, which he then held with one of greater value. Nor was this act of ſelf-denial without its reward; for though their principles in church-matters were very oppoſite, Burnet conceived ſuch an eſteem for him from this action, that he not only prevailed with the chapter to elect him a canon, but likewiſe made him archdeacon of Sarum, and gave him one of the beſt prebends in the church.

In the point of reſidence, biſhop Burnet was ſo ſtrict, that he never would permit his own chaplains to attend upon him, after they had once obtained livings, but obliged them to be conſtantly reſident upon them. Indeed, he conſidered himſelf as under the ſame obligation, as paſtor of the whole dioceſe, and never would be abſent from it but during his attendance on the parliament, from which, as ſoon as the principal buſineſs of the nation was diſpatched, he always withdrew himſelf, in order to return to the duties of his Epiſcopal office. And though king William, upon his going over to Ireland or Flanders, always enjoined him to attend upon queen Mary, and aſſiſt her with his faithful counſel on all emergencies; yet he would not, upon ſuch occaſions, accept of lodgings at Whitehall, but hired a houſe at Windſor, in order to be within his own biſhoprick, and yet near enough to the court, to attend there twice a-week, or oftner, if buſineſs required it.

He continued to be in great favour with king William and queen Mary during their whole reign; though the king is ſaid to have been rather offended with his freedom of ſpeech on ſome occaſions; but nothing of this kind prevented his holding him to the laſt in high eſtimation. He did not, however, make the ordinary uſe of the favour which he enjoyed at court; for though he obtained many employments and gratuities for others, yet it is ſaid, that there was not a ſingle inſtance, wherein he ſolicited a favour for himſelf, or his

family; on the contrary, he declined preferment when it was offered to him.

In the year 1698, when it became neceſſary to ſettle the duke of Glouceſter's family, king William ſent the earl of Sunderland with a meſſage to the princeſs of Denmark, acquainting her, "that he put the whole management of her ſon's houſehold into her hands, but that he owed the care of his education to himſelf and his people, and therefore would name the perſons for that purpoſe." Accordingly, the earl of Marlborough being nominated his governor, biſhop Burnet was appointed his preceptor. He had then retired into his dioceſe, having lately loſt his ſecond wife by the ſmall-pox. He took that occaſion therefore to wave the offer of this important charge; though he was aſſured that the princeſs had teſtified her approbation of the king's choice. He wrote to the earl of Sunderland and archbiſhop Tenniſon to uſe their intereſt with the king, that he might be allowed to decline this employment. But his majeſty was very ſolicitous that he ſhould accept the poſt; and the biſhop's friends earneſtly preſſed him not to refuſe a ſtation, wherein he might do his country ſuch ſignal ſervice, as in the education of the duke of Glouceſter. Being at length prevailed on, he waited on the king at Windſor, and acquainted him that he was willing to take the truſt upon him; but as the diſcharge of his duty in this ſtation muſt confine him conſtantly to court, which was inconſiſtent with his Epiſcopal function, he deſired leave to reſign his biſhoprick. The king was much ſurpriſed at the propoſal, to which he would by no means conſent. However, finding Burnet perſiſted in it, he was prevailed on to agree, that the duke of Glouceſter ſhould reſide all the ſummer at Windſor, and that the biſhop ſhould have ten weeks allowed him every year, to viſit the other parts of his dioceſe.

When he had entered upon his office of preceptor, he took great pains in the duke's education; though the

the good effects of his care were unhappily prevented by the untimely death of that prince. Speaking on this ſubject in his "Hiſtory of his own Times," he ſays, "I took to my own province the reading and explaining the ſcriptures to him, the inſtructing him in the principles of religion and the rules of virtue, and the giving him a view of hiſtory, geography, politics, and government. I reſolved alſo to look very exactly to all the maſters that were appointed to teach him other things." In another place, ſpeaking of the duke's death, Burnet ſays, "I had been truſted with his education now for two years, and he had made an amazing progreſs. I had read over the Pſalms, Proverbs, and Goſpels, with him, and had explained things that fell in my way very copiouſly."---"I went through geography ſo often with him, that he went through all the maps very particularly. I explained to him the forms of government in every country, with the intereſts and trade of that country, and what was both good and bad in it. I acquainted him with all the great revolutions that had been in the world, and gave him a copious account of the Greek and Roman hiſtories, and of Plutarch's Lives. The laſt thing I explained to him was the Gothic conſtitution, and the beneficiary and feudal laws. I talked of theſe things, at different times, near three hours a day."

In 1692, biſhop Burnet publiſhed his "Diſcourſe on the Paſtoral Care." In 1699, he publiſhed, in folio, his "Expoſition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England." And, about the ſame time, he married his third wife, Mrs. Berkeley, a widow lady, who was greatly diſtinguiſhed by her knowledge, piety, and virtue.

At the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, in 1709, biſhop Burnet made a long ſpeech in the houſe of peers againſt that divine, and to ſhew that the doctrine of non-reſiſtance was not the doctrine of the church of England. He was not in ſo much favour at court in the reign of

queen Anne, as he had been in that of king William. She treated him, however, with ſufficient reſpect, to encourage him to ſpeak very freely to her majeſty concerning the ſtate of her affairs, in the year 1710. He then told her, as he informs us himſelf, what reports were ſpread of her throughout the nation, as if ſhe favoured the deſign of bringing the pretender to ſucceed to the crown, upon a bargain that ſhe ſhould hold it during her life. He was ſure, he obſerved to her, that theſe reports were ſpread about by perſons who were in the confidence of thoſe that were believed to know her mind. He told her majeſty, that if ſhe was capable of making ſuch a bargain for herſelf, by which her people were to be delivered up, and ſacrificed after her death, as it would darken all the glory of her reign, ſo it muſt ſet all her people to conſider of the moſt proper ways of ſecuring themſelves, by bringing over the Proteſtant ſucceſſors; in which, he told her plainly, he would concur, if ſhe did not take effectual means to extinguiſh thoſe jealouſies. He ſaid on this occaſion ſome other very free things to her, all which ſhe heard very patiently, though ſhe made him but little anſwer. "Yet (ſays he), by what ſhe ſaid, ſhe ſeemed deſirous to make me think, ſhe agreed to what I laid before her; but I found afterwards it had no effect upon her. Yet I had great quiet in my own mind, ſince I had, with an honeſt freedom, made the beſt uſe I could of the acceſs I had to her."

When he had attained the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, biſhop Burnet was taken ill of a violent cold, which ſoon turned to a pleuritic fever. He was attended in it by his worthy friend and relation Dr. Cheyne, who treated him with the utmoſt care and ſkill; but finding the diſtemper grew to a height, which ſeemed to baffle all remedies, he called for the aſſiſtance of Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead, who quickly found his caſe was deſperate. As he preſerved his ſenſes to the laſt, ſo, when he found his end approaching

ing, he employed his few remaining hours in continual acts of devotion, and in giving the beſt advice to his family; of whom he took leave in ſuch a manner, as ſhewed the utmoſt tenderneſs, accompanied with the greateſt conſtancy of mind. And whilſt he was ſo little ſenſible of the terrors of death, as to embrace its approach with joy, he could not but expreſs his concern for the grief which he ſaw it cauſed in others. He died in March 1715, and was interred in the pariſh-church of St. James, Clerkenwell, where a handſome marble monument was erected to his memory.

After his death, his "Hiſtory of his own Times, with his Life annexed," was publiſhed by his ſon, Thomas Burnet, Eſq. agreeably to the intention of his father; for the biſhop, by his laſt will and teſtament, had ordered, that this hiſtory ſhould not be printed till ſix years after his death, and then faithfully, without adding, ſuppreſſing, or altering it in any particular.

The firſt volume was printed at London in 1724, and the ſecond in 1734, in folio. To the firſt volume is prefixed an advertiſement, acquainting the reader, "That the editors intended for the ſatisfaction of the public, to depoſit the copy, from which his hiſtory is printed (corrected and interlined, in many places, with the author's own hand), in ſome public library, as ſoon as the ſecond volume ſhould be publiſhed."

There are two French tranſlations of the firſt volume of this hiſtory; the one by M. de la Pilloniere, the other by an anonymous tranſlator. The firſt was printed at the Hague in three volumes, 12mo. 1725; the other, with cuts, at the ſame place, in the ſame year, in two volumes, 4to. This laſt verſion was reprinted at Trevoux, in four volumes, 12mo.

The biſhop was an author of deſerved repute; but every hiſtorian who diſcovers an attachment to party muſt expect ſevere cenſures; and accordingly many critical and hiſtorical remarks have been publiſhed to leſſen the reputation of his "Hiſtory of his own

Times;" yet, if read with a proper allowance for the writer's ſituation and connections, a more valuable performance cannot be recommended to the hiſtorical ſtudent.

He was likewiſe the author of "Reflections on Varillas's Hiſtory of the Revolutions that have happened in Europe in Matters of Religion; more particularly in his 9th Book relating to England." The reflections were publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1686. Varillas publiſhed a reply, upon which Burnet printed a defence of his reflections in 1687. His other works are, "The Hiſtory of the Reformation." "The Life of William Bedel, Biſhop of Kilmore, in Ireland." "A Relation of the Death of the Primitive Perſecutors, tranſlated from the Latin of Lactantius: with a large Preface, in which the Principles, the Spirit, and the Practice of Perſecution, are freely cenſured and condemned." "A Collection of Sermons and Tracts," 3 vols. 4to.

The character of this eminent prelate, written while he was living, by his contemporary, the celebrated marquis of Halifax, has been much admired; and it has been annexed to his life by moſt biographers, whoſe example we ſhall follow, and cloſe this account of him in the words of that noble writer: "Dr. Burnet is, like all men who are above the ordinary level, ſeldom ſpoken of in a mean manner; he muſt either be railed at, or admired. He has a ſwiftneſs of imagination that no other man comes up to; and, as our nature hardly allows us to have enough of any thing, without having too much, he cannot at all times ſo hold-in his thoughts, but that at ſome time they may run away with him; as it is hard for a veſſel that is brim-full, when in motion, not to run over; and therefore, the variety of matter that he ever carries about him may throw out more than an unkind critic would allow of. His firſt thoughts may ſometimes require more digeſtion, not from a defect in his judgment, but from the abundance of his fancy, which furniſhes too faſt for him.

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His friends love him too well to ſee ſmall faults; or, if they do, think that his greater talents give him a privilege of ſtraying from the ſtrict rules of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules of cenſure. He produces ſo faſt, that what is well in his writings, calls for admiration, and what is incorrect, deſerves an excuſe: he may, in ſome things, require grains of allowance, which thoſe only can deny him who are unknown or unjuſt to him. He is not quicker in diſcerning other men's faults, than he is in forgiving them; ſo ready, or rather glad, to acknowledge his own, that from blemiſhes they become ornaments. All the repeated provocations of his indecent adverſaries have had no other effect than the ſetting his good-nature in ſo much a better light, ſince his anger never yet went farther than to pity them. That heat, which in moſt other men, raiſes ſharpneſs and ſatire, in him glows into warmth for his friends, and compaſſion for thoſe in want and miſery. As dull men have quick eyes in diſcerning the ſmaller faults of thoſe that nature has made ſuperior to them, they do not miſs one blot he makes; and, being beholden only to their barrenneſs for their diſcretion, they fall upon the errors which ariſe out of his abundance; and, by a miſtake into which their malice betrays them, they think, that, by finding a mote in his eye, they hide the beams that are in their own. His quickneſs makes writing ſo eaſy to him, that his ſpirits are neither waſted nor ſoured by it: the ſoil is not forced; every thing grows and brings forth without pangs; which diſtinguiſhes as much what he does from that which ſmells of the lamp, as a good palate will diſcern between fruit which comes from a rich mould, and that which taſtes of the uncleanly pains that have been beſtowed upon it. He makes many enemies by ſetting an ill-natured example of living, which they are not inclined to follow. His indifference for preferment; his contempt, not only of ſplendor, but of all unneceſſary plenty; his degrading himſelf into the loweſt

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and moſt painful duties of his calling; are ſuch unprelatical qualities, that, let him be never ſo orthodox in other things, in theſe he muſt be a diſſenter. Virtues of ſuch a ſtamp are ſo many hereſies, in the opinion of thoſe divines who have ſoftened the primitive injunctions ſo as to make them ſuit better with the preſent frailty of mankind. No wonder then if they are angry, ſince it is in their own defence, or that, from a principle of ſelf-preſervation, they ſhould endeavour to ſuppreſs a man, whoſe parts are a ſhame, and whoſe life is a ſcandal to them."

Biſhop Burnet had no children by his firſt wife; but his ſecond, Mrs. Mary Scot, of the Hague, bore him ſeven children, three ſons, and four daughters. He had two children by his laſt wife, but they both died in their infancy. His ſecond ſon, William, who was a clergyman, publiſhed an abridgment of the third volume of the biſhop's "Hiſtory of the Reformation." He alſo wrote an anſwer to Mr. William Law's "Second Letter to the biſhop of Bangor," which was allowed to be among the beſt pieces in that controverſy. The biſhop's youngeſt ſon, Thomas, was bred to the law, and became one of the judges of the court of Common-pleas, in the reign of George II.

*** *Authorities.* Life of Biſhop Burnet, by his ſon, Judge Burnet. Biog. Britan. Rapin's Hiſtory of England.

THE LIFE OF

MATTHEW PRIOR.

[A. D. 1664, to 1721.]

MR. PRIOR is generally ranked amongſt the celebrated Engliſh Poets of the preſent age; but as his talents for public affairs introduced him to employments

ployments under the government, in which he made ſo conſpicuous a figure, that his name is preſerved in the annals of Britain as a ſtateſman, he finds a place in this work, in chronological order, with the great men of his time, who had a ſhare in the adminiſtration of government. He was the ſon of Mr. George Prior, citizen of London, and joiner; and was born in the year 1664. His father dying when he was very young, left him to the care of an uncle, a vintner, near Charing-croſs, who diſcharged the truſt, that was repoſed in him with a tenderneſs truly paternal, as Mr. Prior always acknowledged with the higheſt profeſſions of gratitude.

He received part of his education at Weſtminſter-ſchool, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf to great advantage; but was afterwards taken home by his uncle, in order to be bred up to his trade.

Notwithſtanding the mean employment to which Mr. Prior ſeemed now doomed, yet, at his leiſure-hours, he proſecuted his ſtudy of the claſſics, and eſpecially his favourite, Horace; by which means he was ſoon taken notice of by the polite company who reſorted to his uncle's houſe.

It happened one day, that the earl of Dorſet, being at this tavern, which he often frequented, with ſeveral gentlemen of rank, the diſcourſe turned upon the odes of Horace; and, the company being divided in their ſentiments about a paſſage in that poet, one of the gentlemen ſaid, "I find we are not likely to agree in our criticiſms; but, if I am not miſtaken, there is a young fellow in the houſe, who is able to ſet us all right:" upon which he named Prior, who was immediately ſent for, and deſired to give his opinion of Horace's meaning in the ode under conſideration. This he did with great modeſty, and ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the company, that the earl of Dorſet, from that moment, determined to remove him from this diſgraceful ſtation, to one more ſuited to his genius; and accordingly

accordingly ſent him, at his own expence, to St. John's College in Cambridge, where he took his degree of bachelor of arts in 1686, and afterwards became a fellow of the college.

During his reſidence in the univerſity, he contracted an intimate friendſhip with Charles Montague, Eſq. afterwards earl of Halifax; in conjunction with whom he wrote a very humorous piece, intituled "The Hind and the Panther tranſverſed to the ſtory of the Country Mouſe and the City Mouſe," printed in 1687, in 4to. in anſwer to Mr. Dryden's Hind and Panther, publiſhed the year before.

Upon the Revolution, Mr. Prior was brought to court by his great patron, the earl of Dorſet, by whoſe intereſt he was introduced to public employment; and, in the year 1690, was made ſecretary to the earl of Berkley, plenipotentiary to king William and queen Mary at the congreſs at the Hague.

In this ſtation he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that king William, deſirous at this time to keep him near his perſon, made him one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber. He was afterwards appointed ſecretary to the earls of Pembroke and Jerſey, and Sir Joſeph Williamſon, ambaſſadors and plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Ryſwick, in 1697; and, the ſame year, he was nominated principal ſecretary of ſtate for Ireland. In 1698, he was appointed ſecretary to the embaſſy to the court of France.

While he was in that kingdom, one of the officers of the French king's houſehold, ſhewing him the royal apartments and curioſities at Verſailles, eſpecially the paintings of Le Brun, wherein the victories of Lewis XIV. are deſcribed, aſked him, "Whether king William's actions were to be ſeen in his palace." "No Sir (replied Mr. Prior); the monuments of my maſter's actions are to be ſeen every where but in his own houſe." He continued in this ſtation during the two embaſſies of the earls of Portland and Jerſey.

In

In 1699, king William ſent for him from England, to hold a private conference with him at his palace at Loo, in Holland; and, upon his return, he was made under-ſecretary of ſtate, in the earl of Jerſey's office, who was principal ſecretary of ſtate for the northern provinces; and he afterwards went to Paris, where he had a principal ſhare in negociating the partition-treaty.

In 1700, he was created maſter of arts by mandamus; and appointed one of the lords commiſſioners of trade and plantations, upon the reſignation of Mr. Locke. He was alſo choſen member of parliament for Eaſt Grinſtead in Suſſex.

Upon the ſucceſs of the war with France, after the acceſſion of queen Anne, Mr. Prior exerted his poetical talents, in honour of his country; firſt in his letter to Boileau, the celebrated French poet, on the victory at Blenhiem in 1704; and again in an ode on the glorious ſucceſs of her majeſty's arms in 1706.

In 1710, he was ſuppoſed to have had a ſhare in writing "The Examiner;" and particularly a criticiſm in it upon a poem of Dr. Garth's to the earl of Godolphin, taken notice of in the life of Garth.

About this time, when Godolphin was defeated by Oxford; and the Tories, who had long been eclipſed by the luſtre of Marlborough, began again to hold up their heads; Mr. Prior and Dr. Garth eſpouſed oppoſite intereſts; Mr. Prior wrote for, and Garth againſt, the court. The doctor did not deſert his patron in diſtreſs; and, notwithſtanding the cloud which then hung upon the party, he adreſſed verſes to him, which, however they may fail in poetry, bear the ſtrongeſt marks of gratitude and honour.

While Mr. Prior was thus very early initiated in public affairs, and continued in the hurry of buſineſs for many years, it muſt appear not a little ſurpriſing, that he ſhould find ſufficient opportunities to cultivate his poetical talents to the amazing height he raiſed them.

In

In his preface to his poems, he ſays, "That poetry was only the product of his leiſure-hours; that he had commonly buſineſs enough upon his hands; and (as he modeſtly adds), was only a poet by accident:" But we muſt take the liberty of differing from him in the laſt particular; for Mr. Prior ſeems to have received from the Muſes, at his nativity, all the graces they could well beſtow on their greateſt favourite.

We muſt not omit one inſtance in Mr. Prior's conduct, which will appear very remarkable. He was choſen a member of that parliament which impeached the partition-treaty, in which he himſelf had been concerned; and though his ſhare in that tranſaction was very conſiderable, yet he joined in the impeachment, upon an honeſt principle of conviction, that exceptionable meaſures attended it.

The celebrated lord Bolingbroke, who, notwithſtanding the many exceptions made both to his conduct and ſentiments in other inſtances, muſt be allowed to be an accompliſhed judge of fine talents, entertained the higheſt eſteem for Mr. Prior, on account of his great abilities.

This noble lord, in a letter dated on the 10th of September 1712, addreſſed to Mr. Prior, while he was the queen's miniſter and plenipotentiary at the court of France, pays him the following compliment:

"For God's ſake, Matt. hide the nakedneſs of thy country, and give the beſt turn, thy fertile brain will furniſh thee with, to the blunders of thy countrymen, who are not much better politicians than the French are poets."

——His lordſhip thus concludes his epiſtle:

"It is near three o'clock in the morning. I have been hard at work all day, and am not yet enough recovered to bear much fatigue; excuſe therefore the confuſedneſs of this ſcroll, which is only from Harry to Matt. and not from the ſecretary to the miniſter. Adieu; my pen is ready to drop out of my hand, it being now

now three o'clock in the morning. Believe that no man loves you better, or is more faithfully

" Yours, &c.

" BOLINGBROKE."

There are ſeveral other letters from Bolingbroke to Prior, which, were it neceſſary, we might inſert as evidences of his eſteem for him; but Mr. Prior was, in every reſpect, ſo great a man, that the eſteem, even of lord Bolingbroke, cannot add much to the luſtre of his reputation, both as a ſtateſman and a poet.

Mr. Prior is repreſented, by contemporary writers, as a gentleman who united the elegance and politeneſs of a court with the ſcholar and the man of genius. This repreſentation, in general, may be juſt; yet it is frequently true, that they, who have riſen from low life, ſtill retain ſome traces of their original. There was one particular in which Mr. Prior verified the old proverb.

The ſame woman who could charm the waiter in a tavern, ſtill maintained her dominion over the miniſter in France. The Chloe of Prior, it ſeems, was a woman in his ſtation of life; but he never forſook her in the height of his promotions. Hence we may ſuppoſe, that aſſociations with women are the moſt laſting of all; and that, when an eminent ſtation raiſes a man above all other acts of condeſcenſion, a miſtreſs will maintain her influence, charm away the pride of greatneſs, and make the hero who fights, and the patriot who ſpeaks, for the liberty of his country, a ſlave to her. One would imagine, however, that this woman, who is ſaid to have been a butcher's wife, muſt either have been very handſome, or have had ſomething about her ſuperior to people of her rank: but it ſeems the caſe was otherwiſe; and no better reaſon can be given for his attachment to her but that ſhe was to his taſte

Mr. Prior was appointed miniſter plenipotentiary to the court of France, to negociate the peace of Utrecht; and, after it was concluded, he remained at that court,

veſted with the character of Britiſh ambaſſador, till ſome months after the acceſſion of George I. when he was ſucceeded by the earl of Stair; the ſtate of affairs being greatly changed at home, where the peace was now loudly condemned. Mr. Prior, upon his arrival, was taken up by a warrant from the houſe of commons; ſhortly after which, he underwent a very ſtrict examination by a committee of the privy-council. His political friend, lord Bolingbroke, foreſeeing a ſtorm, took ſhelter in France.

On the tenth of June 1715, Robert Walpole, Eſq. moved the houſe againſt him; and, on the 17th, Mr. Prior was ordered into cloſe cuſtody, and no perſon was admitted to ſee him without leave from the ſpeaker. For the particulars of this procedure of the parliament, both againſt Mr. Prior, and many others concerned in the public tranſactions of the preceding reign, we refer to the hiſtories of that time.

In the year 1717, an act of grace was paſſed in favour of thoſe who had oppoſed the Hanoverian ſucceſſion, as well as thoſe who had been in open rebellion; but Mr. Prior was excepted out of it. At the cloſe of this year, however, he was diſcharged from his confinement, and retired from all public employment.

The ſevere uſage which Mr. Prior met with, perhaps, was the occaſion of the following beautiful lines, addreſſed to his Chloe:

From public noiſe, and factious ſtrife,
From all the buſy ills of life,
Take me, my Chloe, to thy breaſt,
And lull my wearied ſoul to reſt;
For ever, in this humble cell,
Let thee and I, my fair-one, dwell;
None enter elſe, but Love;—— and he
Shall bar the door, and keep the key.

To painted roofs, and ſhining ſpires,
Uneaſy ſeats of high deſires,

Let

Let the unthinking many crowd,
That dare be covetous and proud;
In golden bondage let them wait,
And barter happineſs for ſtate.
But, oh! my Chloe, when thy ſwain
Deſires to ſee a court again,
May Heaven around his deſtin'd head
The choiceſt of his curſes ſhed!
To ſum up all the rage of Fate
In the two things I dread and hate,
May'ſt thou be falſe, and I be great;

Mr. Prior, after the fatigue of a length of years, paſſed in various ſervices of active life, was deſirous of ſpending the remainder of his days in rural tranquillity, which the greateſt men of all ages have been fond of enjoying. He was ſo happy as to ſucceed in his wiſh, living a very retired and contemplative life at Down-hall, in Eſſex; and found, as he expreſſed himſelf, a more ſolid and innocent ſatisfaction among the woods and meadows, than he had enjoyed in the hurry and tumults of the world, the courts of princes, or the conducting foreign negociations: and where, as he melodiouſly ſings,

The remnant of his day he ſafely paſt,
Nor found they lagg'd to flow, nor flew too faſt;
He made his wiſh with his eſtate comply,
Joyful to live, yet not afraid to die.

Having finiſhed his "Solomon," a fine poem "on the Vanity of the World," his moſt admired performance, he publiſhed, by ſubſcription, an edition of all his poems in one volume, in folio; and, ſome time after, he formed a deſign of writing an Hiſtory of his own Time; but he had made very little progreſs in it, when a lingering fever proved fatal to him. He died in the year 1721, at Wimple, then a ſeat of the earl of Oxford, at a ſmall diſtance from Cambridge; and his remains were interred in Weſtminſter-abbey, where a

monument was erected to his memory, at his own expence; for which purpoſe, he had, in his life-time, ſet apart 500l. and a ſuitable inſcription was compoſed for it, by Dr. Robert Freind, maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool.

Mr. Prior, by the ſuffrage of all men of taſte, holds a high rank in poetry, for the delicacy of his numbers; the wittineſs of his turns; the acuteneſs of his remarks; and, in one performance, for the amazing force of his ſentiments. The ſtyle of our author is likewiſe extremely pure; and there is an air of originality in his minuteſt performances.

After his death, ſeveral poſthumous poems aſcribed to him were publiſhed; and in 1740, appeared, "The Hiſtory of his own Time," ſaid to have been printed from his own manuſcripts; but it is a performance totally unworthy of him; and, as it is well aſcertained that illneſs ſtopped his progreſs in the work he had begun under that title, we cannot recommend a production apparently ſpurious.

The beſt edition of our author's poems is that of 1733, by Samuel Humphreys, Eſq. in 3 vols. to which are prefixed, Memoirs of his Life; the chief authority for the conciſe account which we have here given of him.

THE LIFE OF

JOHN CHURCHILL,

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

[A. D. 1650, to 1722.]

JOHN CHURCHILL, who, according to the prediction of the prince de Vaudemont, lived to attain the higheſt pitch of glory to which any ſubject could poſſibly be exalted, was the ſecond ſon of Sir Winſton Churchill

Churchill of Dorſetſhire, a gentleman who ſuffered greatly during the civil wars for his loyalty to Charles Firſt, ſo that he was obliged, in thoſe troubleſome times, to live privately with his lady, the daughter of Sir John Drake of Aſhe, in Devonſhire, at whoſe ſeat our immortal hero was born, on the 24th of June 1650.

A clergyman in the neighbourhood inſtructed him in the firſt principles of literature; but his father, after the Reſtoration, being received into great favour by Charles II. and enjoying ſome conſiderable poſts under him, beſides being member of parliament for Weymouth, he judged it prudent to introduce his ſon John (his elder brother dying in his infancy) early to court, where he was particularly favoured by James duke of York, who made him his page of honour when he was no more than twelve years of age.

He had a pair of colours given him in the guards during the firſt Dutch war, about the year 1666; and afterwards obtained leave to go over to Tangier, then in our hands, and beſieged by the Moors; where he reſided for ſome time, cultivated attentively the ſcience of arms, and was perſonally engaged in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the Moors. Upon his return to England, he attended conſtantly at court, and was greatly reſpected both by the king and the duke.

In the year 1672, the duke of Monmouth commanding a body of Engliſh auxiliaries in the ſervice of France, Mr. Churchill attended him, and was ſoon after made a captain of grenadiers in his grace's own regiment. He had a ſhare in all the actions of that famous campaign againſt the Dutch; and, at the ſiege of Nimeguen diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much, that he was particularly taken notice of by the celebrated marſhal Turenne, who beſtowed on him the name of "The Handſome Engliſhman," by which appellation he was known in the French army for many years. Another circumſtance, while he was on this ſervice, rendered this a title of honour to him; for a French lieutenant-

colonel having deſerted a paſs, upon the approach of a Dutch detachment, marſhal Turenne, who commanded the French army, laid a wager, that, difficult and dangerous as the enterpriſe was, this "Handſome Engliſhman" ſhould retake the paſs with half the number of men with which the other had loſt it; which captain Churchill ſucceſsfully effected.

The next year he ſignaliſed himſelf in ſuch a manner by his intrepidity at the reduction of Maeſtricht, that the French king thanked him for his behaviour at the head of the line; and aſſured him, that he would acquaint his ſovereign with it; which he did: and the duke of Monmouth, on his return to England, told the king, his father, how much he had been indebted to the bravery of captain Churchill.

The laurels he reaped in France paved his way to preferment at home: accordingly, the king promoted him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and the duke of York made him gentleman of his bed-chamber, and ſoon after maſter of the robes. The ſecond Dutch war being over, colonel Churchill was again obliged to paſs his days at court, where he behaved with great prudence and circumſpection in the factious times that enſued.

In the beginning of the year 1679, when the duke of York was conſtrained to retire from England to the Low Countries, colonel Churchill attended him, as he did throughout all his peregrinations, till he was ſuffered to reſide again in London. While he waited upon the duke in Scotland, he had a regiment of dragoons given him; and, in 1681, he paid his addreſſes to Mrs. Sarah Jennings, daughter of Richard Jennings, Eſq. of Sandridge, in Hertfordſhire, one of the moſt handſome and accompliſhed ladies of the court, and then in attendance on the princeſs, afterwards queen Anne.

In the ſpring of the year 1682, the duke of York returned to London; and, having obtained leave to quit Scotland,

Scotland, reſolved to fetch his family from thence by ſea. For this purpoſe he embarked on the ſecond of May, but unluckily ran upon the Lemon Oar, a dangerous ſand, that lies about ſixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber; where his ſhip was loſt, and ſeveral perſons of quality, beſides upwards of one hundred and twenty private gentlemen and ſeamen, periſhed. The duke was particularly careful of colonel Churchill's ſafety, and took him into the boat in which himſelf eſcaped.

The firſt uſe made by his royal highneſs of his intereſt, after his return to court, was to obtain a title for his favourite, who, by letters patent, bearing date on the firſt of December 1682, was created baron Churchill of Aymouth, in Scotland, and alſo appointed colonel of the third troop of guards.

He was continued in all his poſts by James II. who ſent him alſo his ambaſſador to France, to notify his acceſſion. On his return, he aſſiſted at the coronation, on the twenty-third of April 1685; and, in May following, was created a peer of England, by the title of baron Churchill, of Sandridge, in the county of Hereford.

In June, lord Churchill, being then lieutenant-general of his majeſty's forces, was ordered into the weſt, to ſuppreſs the duke of Monmouth's rebellion; which he did in a month's time, with an inconſiderable body of horſe, and took the duke himſelf priſoner. He was extremely well received by the king at his return from this victory; but ſoon diſcerned, as it is ſaid, the bad effects it produced, by confirming the king in an opinion, that, by virtue of a ſtanding army, the religion and government of England might eaſily be changed. How far lord Churchill concurred with, or oppoſed the king, while he was forming this project, cannot well be aſcertained. He does not, however, appear to have been guilty of any mean compliances, or to have had any concern in adviſing or executing the violent proceedings

ceedings of that unhappy reign; on the contrary, biſhop Burnet tells us, that "he very prudently declined meddling much in buſineſs, ſpoke little, except when his advice was aſked, and then always recommended moderate meaſures." It is ſaid, he declared very early to the lord Galway, that, if his maſter attempted to overturn the eſtabliſhed religion, he would leave him; and that he ſigned the memorial tranſmitted to the prince and princeſs of Orange, by which they were invited to reſcue this nation from Popery and ſlavery. Be this as it will, it is certain that he remained with, and was intruſted by, the king, after the prince of Orange had landed on the 5th of November 1688.

He attended king James when he marched with his forces to oppoſe the prince, and had the command of a brigade of 5000 men; yet, the earl of Feverſham, the king's general, ſuſpecting his inclinations, adviſed the king to ſeize him. The king's affection to him was ſo great, that he could not be prevailed upon to do it; and thus left him at liberty to go over to the prince; which he accordingly did, but without betraying any poſt, or carrying off any troops.

Whoever conſiders the great obligations lord Churchill lay under to king James, muſt naturally conclude, that he could not take the reſolution of leaving him, and withdrawing to the prince of Orange, but with infinite concern and regret; and that this was really the caſe appears very plainly from the following letter, which he left for the king, to ſhew the reaſons of his conduct, and to expreſs his grief for the ſtep he was obliged to take.

"SIR,

"SINCE men are ſeldom ſuſpected of ſincerity when they act contrary to their intereſts; and though my dutiful behaviour to your majeſty, in the worſt of times, for which I acknowledge my poor ſervices much overpaid, may not be ſufficient to incline you to a charitable

ritable interpretation of my actions; yet I hope the great advantage I enjoy under your majeſty, which I can never expect in any other change of government, may reaſonably convince your majeſty, and the world, that I was actuated by an higher principle, when I offered that violence to my inclination and intereſt, as to deſert your majeſty at a time when your affairs ſeem to challenge the ſtricteſt obedience from all your ſubjects; much more from one who lives under the greateſt obligations imaginable to your majeſty. This, Sir, could proceed from nothing but the inviolable dictates of my conſcience, and a neceſſary concern for my religion, which no good man can oppoſe, and with which I am inſtructed nothing ought to come in competition.

"Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful opinion of your majeſty has hitherto repreſented thoſe unhappy deſigns, which inconſiderate and ſelf-intereſted men have framed againſt your majeſty's true intereſt, and the Proteſtant religion; but, as I can no longer join with ſuch, to give a pretence by conqueſt to bring them to effect, ſo I will always, with the hazard of my life and fortune, ſo much your majeſty's due, endeavour to preſerve your royal perſon and lawful right with all the tender concern and dutiful reſpect that becomes

"Your majeſty's, &c."

Lord Churchill was graciouſly received by the prince of Orange; and it is ſuppoſed to have been in conſequence of his lordſhip's ſolicitations that prince George of Denmark went over to him, as his conſort, the princeſs Anne, did ſoon after, by the advice of lady Churchill. He was intruſted, in that critical conjuncture, by the prince of Orange, firſt to re-aſſemble his troop of guards at London, and afterwards to reduce ſome lately-raiſed regiments, and to new-model the army; for which purpoſe he was inveſted with the rank and title of lieutenant-general.

Lord Churchill was one of the peers who voted that the

the throne was vacant; and, in conſequence, the prince and princeſs of Orange being declared king and queen of England upon the 6th of February 1689, his lordſhip was, on the 14th, ſworn of their privy-council, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the king; and, on the 9th of April following, was raiſed to the dignity of earl of Marlborough, in the county of Wilts.

He aſſiſted at the coronation of their majeſties, and was ſoon after made commander-in-chief of the Engliſh forces ſent over to Holland. He commanded at the battle of Warcourt, in the province of Namur, which was fought upon the 15th of Auguſt 1689, and gave ſuch extraordinary proofs of his ſkill, that prince Waldeck, ſpeaking in his commendation to king William, declared, "That he ſaw more into the art of war in a day, than ſome generals in many years."

It is to be obſerved, that king William commanded this year in Ireland; which was the reaſon of the earl of Marlborough's being at the head of the Engliſh troops in Holland; where he laid the foundation of that fame among foreigners, which he afterwards extended all over Europe.

The following year, king James having withdrawn himſelf from Ireland, the earl, who would never appear in the field againſt that monarch, accepted the command of a body of Engliſh forces, deſtined to act in conjunction with the German and Dutch auxiliaries in reducing Corke, and ſome other places of much importance; in all which he ſhewed ſuch uncommon abilities, that, on his firſt appearance at court after his return, king William was pleaſed to ſay, "That he knew no man ſo fit for a general, who had ſeen ſo few campaigns."

Yet all theſe ſervices did not hinder his being diſgraced in a very ſudden manner, in 1691; for, being in waiting at court, as lord of the bed-chamber, and having introduced to his majeſty lord George Hamilton, he was ſoon followed to his own houſe by that nobleman, with

with this ſhort and ſurpriſing meſſage, "That the king had no farther occaſion for his ſervices;" the more ſurpriſing, as his majeſty, juſt before, had not diſcovered the leaſt coldneſs or diſpleaſure towards him. The cauſe of this diſgrace is not, even at preſent, known; but is ſuppoſed to have proceeded from his too cloſe attachment to the intereſt of the princeſs Anne, whom the king and queen wiſhed to keep in a ſtate of dependence upon them; but the earl of Marlborough, and his counteſs, exerted their intereſt ſo effectually, that 50,000l. per annum was ſettled by parliament on the princeſs, which gave great offence to their majeſties.

This ſtrange and unexpected blow was followed by an event of a more extraordinary nature; for the earl and ſeveral other noblemen were committed to the Tower, upon a falſe charge of high-treaſon. The accuſation was grounded upon a paper, ſaid to have been an aſſociation entered into, and ſigned by theſe peers, againſt the government; but, upon examining the paper and the evidences cloſely at the council-board, the whole was diſcovered to be a forgery: the lords were releaſed, and the matter ended in a proſecution on their parts of the offenders, who were ſet in the pillory, and publicly whipped.

After queen Mary's death, when the intereſts of the two courts were brought to a better agreement, king William thought fit to recal the earl of Marlborough to his privy-council; and, in June 1698, appointed him governor to the duke of Glouceſter, with this extraordinary compliment, "Make him but what you are, and my nephew will be all I wiſh to ſee him."

The earl diſcharged the important duty of governor to the young prince in a manner equally ſatisfactory to the king and to the nation; and great hopes were conceived of the promiſing genius of the royal pupil, when he was ſeized with a fever, occaſioned by his over-heating himſelf on his birth-day, the 24th of July 1700, and, on the 29th, it took him off, in the 11th year of his age.

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He aſſiſted at the coronation of their majeſties, and was ſoon after made commander-in-chief of the Engliſh forces ſent over to Holland. He commanded at the battle of Warcourt, in the province of Namur, which was fought upon the 15th of Auguſt 1689, and gave ſuch extraordinary proofs of his ſkill, that prince Waldeck, ſpeaking in his commendation to king William, declared, "That he ſaw more into the art of war in a day, than ſome generals in many years."

It is to be obſerved, that king William commanded this year in Ireland; which was the reaſon of the earl of Marlborough's being at the head of the Engliſh troops in Holland; where he laid the foundation of that fame among foreigners, which he afterwards extended all over Europe.

The following year, king James having withdrawn himſelf from Ireland, the earl, who would never appear in the field againſt that monarch, accepted the command of a body of Engliſh forces, deſtined to act in conjunction with the German and Dutch auxiliaries in reducing Corke, and ſome other places of much importance; in all which he ſhewed ſuch uncommon abilities, that, on his firſt appearance at court after his return, king William was pleaſed to ſay, "That he knew no man ſo fit for a general, who had ſeen ſo few campaigns."

Yet all theſe ſervices did not hinder his being diſgraced in a very ſudden manner, in 1691; for, being in waiting at court, as lord of the bed-chamber, and having introduced to his majeſty lord George Hamilton, he was ſoon followed to his own houſe by that nobleman, with

with this ſhort and ſurpriſing meſſage, "That the king had no farther occaſion for his ſervices;" the more ſurpriſing, as his majeſty, juſt before, had not diſcovered the leaſt coldneſs or diſpleaſure towards him. The cauſe of this diſgrace is not, even at preſent, known; but is ſuppoſed to have proceeded from his too cloſe attachment to the intereſt of the princeſs Anne, whom the king and queen wiſhed to keep in a ſtate of dependence upon them; but the earl of Marlborough, and his counteſs, exerted their intereſt ſo effectually, that 50,000l. per annum was ſettled by parliament on the princeſs, which gave great offence to their majeſties.

This ſtrange and unexpected blow was followed by an event of a more extraordinary nature; for the earl and ſeveral other noblemen were committed to the Tower, upon a falſe charge of high-treaſon. The accuſation was grounded upon a paper, ſaid to have been an aſſociation entered into, and ſigned by theſe peers, againſt the government; but, upon examining the paper and the evidences cloſely at the council-board, the whole was diſcovered to be a forgery: the lords were releaſed, and the matter ended in a proſecution on their parts of the offenders, who were ſet in the pillory, and publicly whipped.

After queen Mary's death, when the intereſts of the two courts were brought to a better agreement, king William thought fit to recal the earl of Marlborough to his privy-council; and, in June 1698, appointed him governor to the duke of Glouceſter, with this extraordinary compliment, "Make him but what you are, and my nephew will be all I wiſh to ſee him."

The earl diſcharged the important duty of governor to the young prince in a manner equally ſatisfactory to the king and to the nation; and great hopes were conceived of the promiſing genius of the royal pupil, when he was ſeized with a fever, occaſioned by his over-heating himſelf on his birth-day, the 24th of July 1700, and, on the 29th, it took him off, in the 11th year of his age.

age. His highneſs was the laſt prince of the Britiſh line, and the fourth and only ſurviving child of the princeſs Anne. After the death of his mother, the crown, by the act of ſucceſſion, deſcended, in conſequence of his death, to the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover.

Soon after the death of the duke of Glouceſter, king William made the earl of Marlborough commander-in-chief of the Britiſh forces in Holland, and ambaſſador extraordinary to the ſtates-general; and this was one of the laſt marks of honour the earl received from king William, except the recommendation of his lordſhip to the princeſs Anne, a little before his death, as the propereſt perſon to be truſted with the command of the army which was to protect the liberty of Europe.

In March 1702, about a week after the king's death, he was elected knight of the moſt noble order of the garter; and ſoon after declared captain-general of all her majeſty's forces in England and abroad: upon which he was immediately ſent over to the Hague, with the ſame character that he had the year before. His ſtay in Holland was very ſhort, only juſt long enough to give the ſtates-general the neceſſary aſſurances of his royal miſtreſs's ſincere intention to purſue the plan that had formerly been ſettled. The ſtates concurred with him in all that he propoſed, and made him captain-general of all their forces, with an appointment of one hundred thouſand florins per annum.

On his return to England he found the queen's council already divided; ſome being for carrying the war on as auxiliaries only; others, for declaring againſt France and Spain immediately, and ſo becoming principals at once. The earl of Marlborough joined with the latter; and theſe carrying their point, war was declared upon the 4th of May 1702, and approved afterwards by parliament, though the Dutch, at that time, had not declared.

The earl took the command on the 20th of June; and, diſcerning that the ſtates were made uneaſy by the

the places which the enemy held on the frontiers, he began with attacking and reducing them. Accordingly, in this ſingle campaign, he made himſelf maſter of the caſtles of Gravenbroeck and Waerts; the towns of Venlo, Ruremond, and Stevenſwaert; together with the city and citadel of Liege; which laſt was taken ſword in hand.

Theſe advantages were conſiderable, and acknowledged as ſuch by the ſtates; but they were likely to have been of a very ſhort date; for the army ſeparating in the neighbourhood of Liege on the 3d of November, the earl was taken the next day, in his paſſage by water, by a ſmall party of thirty men from the garriſon at Gueldres; but it being towards night, and the earl with great compoſure preſenting to the commanding-officer of the detachment an old paſs, which had been given to his brother, general Churchill, but which was now out of date, he was ſuffered to proceed, and arrived ſafe at the Hague, where they were in the utmoſt conſternation at the accident which had befallen him.

The winter approaching, the earl embarked for England, and arrived in London on the 28th of November. The queen had been complimented ſome time before, by both houſes of parliament, on the ſucceſs of her arms in Flanders; in conſequence of which there had been a public thankſgiving on the fourth of November, when her majeſty went in great ſtate to St. Paul's.

Soon after, a committee of the houſe of commons waited upon the earl with the thanks of the houſe; and, on the 2d of December, her majeſty declared her intention, in council, of creating his lordſhip a duke; which ſhe ſoon after did, by the title of marquis of Blandford, and duke of Marlborough. She likewiſe added a penſion of 5000l. per annum out of the poſt-office during her own life; and ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, ſignifying her deſire, that they would extend the penſion by act of parliament, in the

ſame manner as ſhe had done the title, to him and his heirs-male; but with this the houſe would not comply, contenting themſelves, in their addreſs to the queen, with applauding her manner of rewarding public ſervices, but declaring their inability to make ſuch a precedent for alienating the revenue of the crown.

He was on the point of returning to Holland, when, on the 20th of February 1703, his only ſon, the marquis of Blandford, died at Cambridge, at the age of eighteen. This afflicting accident did not, however, long retard his grace: but he paſſed over to Holland, and arrived at the Hague on the 17th of March.

The nature of this work will not ſuffer us to relate all the military exploits in which the duke of Marlborough was engaged; it is ſufficient to ſay, that, numerous as they were, they were all ſucceſsful. The French had a great army this year in Flanders, in the Low Countries, and in that part of Germany which the elector of Cologne had put into their hands; and prodigious preparations were made under the moſt experienced commanders: but the vigilance and activity of the duke baffled them all.

When the campaign was over, his grace went to Duſſeldorp, to have an interview with the archduke Charles, who had juſt taken the title of Charles III. king of Spain; he made him a preſent of a rich ſword from his ſide, at the ſame time highly complimenting him on his great military reputation. The duke then accompanied the Spaniſh monarch to the Hague, and, after a very ſhort ſtay, came over to England.

He arrived on the 13th of October 1703; and, ſoon after, king Charles III. came likewiſe over to England, and arrived at Spithead on the 26th of December; upon which the dukes of Somerſet and Marlborough were immediately ſent to receive and conduct him to Windſor.

In the beginning of January 1704, the ſtates-general deſired leave of her majeſty for his grace of Marlborough

rough to come to the Hague; which being granted, his grace embarked on the fifteenth, and paſſed over to Rotterdam. He went from thence immediately to the Hague, where he communicated to the penſionary his ſenſe of the neceſſity there was of attempting ſomething the next campaign for the relief of the emperor of Germany, Charles VI. whoſe affairs, at this time, were in the utmoſt diſtreſs, having the Bavarians on one ſide, and the Hungarian malecontents on the other, making incurſions to the very gates of Vienna, while his whole force ſcarcely enabled him to maintain a defenſive war. This ſcheme being approved of, and the plan of it being adjuſted, the duke returned to England on the fourteenth of February.

When the meaſures were properly ſettled at home, the duke, on the 8th of April 1704, embarked for Holland; where ſtaying about a month, to adjuſt the neceſſary ſteps, he began his march towards the heart of Germany, and, after a conference held with prince Eugene of Savoy, and prince Lewis of Baden, he arrived before the ſtrong intrenchments of the enemy at Schellenburg, very unexpectedly, on the 21ſt of June; and, after an obſtinate and bloody battle, he intirely routed them. It was on this occaſion that the emperor wrote the duke a letter with his own hand, acknowledging his great ſervices, and offering him the title of a prince of the empire, which he modeſtly declined, till the queen afterwards commanded him to accept of it.

The duke made the beſt advantage of this ſucceſs, and, having advanced with the confederate army within a league of Augſburgh, where the elector of Bavaria was ſecurely encamped under the cannon of that city, his grace ſo effectually cut off his communication with his electoral dominions, that, ſeeing his ſubjects left to the mercy of the confederate army, he had actually agreed, with the duke of Marlborough, to ſign a treaty of peace, and abandon the French intereſt, when he re-

ceived the news that marſhal Tallard, who commanded the French army, was on the point of joining him, which he did ſoon after; and this change of affairs brought on the famous battle of Hochſtedt (a town near the village of Blenheim); it was fought on the 13th of Auguſt 1704, and the confederate army, under the command of prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, gained a complete victory over the French and the Bavarians. More than 10,000 French and Bavarians were killed in this memorable battle; near 10,000 were wounded, or drowned in the Danube; marſhal Tallard, the commander-in-chief of the French forces, was taken priſoner, and with him 13,000 of the combined army; 100 pieces of cannon, 24 mortars, 129 colours, 171 ſtandards, 17 pair of kettle drums, 3,600 tents, 34 coaches, 300 mules laden with proviſions, ammunition, and baggage, two bridges of boats, and fifteen barrels and eight caſks of ſilver, were the ſpoils of the day.—But, what is ſtill more remarkable, the victors loſt only 4,500 men killed, and about 8000 wounded or taken priſoners. This battle is generally ſtyled in hiſtory the battle of Blenheim; though it is ſometimes called that of Hochſtedt.

After this glorious action, by which the empire was ſaved, and the whole electorate of Bavaria conquered, the duke continued his purſuit till he forced the French to repaſs the Rhine. Then prince Lewis of Baden laid ſiege to Landau, while the duke and prince Eugene covered it; but it was not taken till the 12th of November. The duke made a tour alſo to Berlin; and, by a ſhort negociation, ſuſpended the diſputes between the king of Pruſſia and the Dutch, by which he gained the good will of both parties.

When the campaign was over, he returned to Holland, and, on the 14th of December, arrived in England. He brought over with him marſhal Tallard, and 26 other officers of diſtinction, and the colours; which,

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by her majeſty's order, were put up in Weſtminſter-hall.

He was received by the queen and her royal conſort with the higheſt marks of eſteem, and had the ſolemn thanks of both houſes of parliament. Beſides this, the commons addreſſed her majeſty to perpetuate the memory of this victory; which ſhe did, by granting Woodſtock, with the hundred of Wotton to him and his heirs for ever. This was confirmed by an act of parliament, which paſſed on the 14th of March following, with this remarkable clauſe, "That they ſhould be held by the duke and his heirs, on condition of tendering to the queen, her heirs, and ſucceſſors, on the ſecond of Auguſt every year, for ever, at the caſtle of Windſor, a ſtandard, with three *fleurs de lys*, the arms of France, painted thereon."

The comptroller of the queen's works was likewiſe ordered to build a magnificent palace for the duke in Woodſtock-park, which was called Blenheim-houſe, and is now a ſtanding memorial of the general's and the nation's glory, acquired by the moſt celebrated victory in the annals of Europe.

On the 6th of January, the duke was ſumptuouſly entertained by the city of London; and, on the 8th of February, the commons addreſſed the queen to teſtify their thanks for the treaty which the duke had concluded with the court of Berlin, by which a large body of Pruſſian troops were ſent to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Savoy.

The next year, 1705, the duke went over to Holland in March, with a deſign to execute ſome great ſchemes, which he had been projecting in the winter. The campaign was attended with ſome ſucceſſes, which would have made a conſiderable figure in a campaign under any other general, but are ſcarcely worth mentioning where the duke of Marlborough commanded. He could not carry into execution his main project, on account of the impediments he met

with from the allies, and, in this reſpect, was greatly diſappointed.

The ſeaſon for action being over, he made a tour to the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Hanover. At the firſt of theſe, he acquired the intire confidence of the new emperor, Joſeph I. who preſented him with the principality of Mindelheim; at the ſecond, he renewed the contract for the Pruſſian forces; and, at the third, he reſtored a perfect harmony, and adjuſted every thing to the elector's ſatisfaction. After this he returned to the Hague, and towards the cloſe of the year embarked for, and arrived ſafe in England.

Upon the 7th of January 1706, the houſe of commons came to a reſolution, to thank his grace of Marlborough, as well for his prudent negociations, as for his great military ſervices; but, notwithſtanding this, it very ſoon appeared, that there was a ſtrong party formed againſt the war, and ſteps were taken to cenſure and diſgrace the conduct of the duke.

All things being concerted for rendering the campaign of this year more ſucceſsful than the former, the duke, in the beginning of April, embarked for Holland, and, after ſeveral inferior advantages, he gained a complete victory over the duke of Bavaria and marſhal Villeroy, at the village of Ramilies, on the 12th of May, being Whitſunday. The duke was twice in the utmoſt danger in this action, once by a fall from his horſe, and a ſecond time by a cannon-ſhot, which took off the head of colonel Bingfield, as he was holding the ſtirrup for his grace to remount.

The French and the Bavarians loſt ſeveral thouſand men, beſides 6000 taken priſoners, with great part of their artillery and baggage; the loſs of the allies was very inconſiderable; and this victory is known in hiſtory by the title of The Battle of Ramilies.

The advantages gained by this victory were ſo far improved by the vigilance and wiſdom of the duke, that Louvain, Bruſſels, Mechlin, and even Ghent and Bruges

Bruges, ſubmitted to king Charles III. of Spain without a ſtroke; and Oudenard ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons. The city of Antwerp followed this example. And thus, in the ſhort ſpace of a fortnight, the duke reduced all Brabant, and the marquiſate of the Holy Empire, to the obedience of king Charles. He afterwards took the town of Oſtend, Menin, Dendermonde, and Aeth.

The forces of the allies, after this glorious campaign, being about to ſeparate, his grace, on the 17th of October, went to the Hague; where the propoſals, which France had made for peace contained in a letter from the elector of Bavaria to the duke of Marlborough, were communicated to the miniſters of the allies; after which his grace embarked for England.

He arrived at London on the 18th of November; and, though at this time there was a party formed againſt him at court, yet the great ſervices he had done the nation, and the perſonal eſteem the queen always had for him, procured him an univerſal good reception.

The houſe of commons, in their addreſs to the queen, ſpoke of the ſucceſs of the campaign in general, and of the duke of Marlborough's ſhare in particular, in the ſtrongeſt terms poſſible; and, the day after, unanimouſly voted him their thanks; and the lords did the ſame. They went ſtill farther; for, on the 17th of December, they addreſſed the queen for leave to bring in a bill, to ſettle the duke's honours upon the male and female iſſue of his daughters. This was granted; and Blenheim-houſe, with the manor of Woodſtock, was, after the deceaſe of the ducheſs, upon whom they were ſettled in jointure, entailed in the ſame manner with the honours.

Two days after this, the ſtandards and colours taken at Ramilies being carried in ſtate through the city, in order to be hung up in Guildhall, his grace of

Marlborough

Marlborough was invited to dine with the lord-mayor, which he accordingly did.

The laſt day of the year was appointed for a general thankſgiving; and her majeſty went in ſtate to St. Paul's; in which there was this ſingularity obſerved, that it was the ſecond thankſgiving within the year.

On the 17th of January 1707, the houſe of commons preſented an addreſs to the queen, in which they ſignified, That, as her majeſty had built the houſe of Blenhiem, to perpetuate the memory of the duke of Marlborough's ſervices; and, as the houſe of lords had ordered a bill for continuing his honours; ſo they were deſirous to make ſome proviſion for the more honourable ſupport of his dignity. In conſequence of this, and of the queen's anſwer, the penſion of 5000 pounds per annum from the poſt-office was ſettled in the manner the queen had formerly deſired of another houſe of commons, who happened not to be in quite ſo good a temper.

Theſe points adjuſted, his grace made haſte to return to his charge, it being thought neceſſary he ſhould acquaint the foreign miniſters at the Hague, that the queen of Great Britain would hearken to no propoſals of peace but what would firmly ſecure the general tranquillity of Europe.

The campaign of the year 1707 proved the moſt barren one he ever made; which was chiefly owing to a failure on the part of the allies, who began to flag in ſupporting the common cauſe. Nor did things go on more to his mind at home; for, upon his return to England, after the campaign was over, he found that the fire, which he ſuſpected the year before, had broken out in his abſence; that the queen had a female favourite, who was in a fair way of ſupplanting the ducheſs; and that ſhe liſtened to the inſinuations of a ſtateſman who was no friend to him. He is ſaid to have borne all this with firmneſs and patience, though he eaſily ſaw to what it tended; and he went to Holland,

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as uſual, early in the ſpring of the year 1708, arriving at the Hague on the 19th of March.

The enſuing campaign was carried on by the duke, in conjunction with prince Eugene, with ſuch prodigious ſucceſs, that the French king thought fit, in the beginning of the year 1709, to ſet on foot a negociation for peace.

The houſe of commons this year gave an uncommon teſtimony of their reſpect for the duke of Marlborough; for, beſides addreſſing the queen, they, on the 22d of January 1709, unanimouſly voted thanks to his grace, and ordered them to be tranſmitted to him abroad by the ſpeaker.

His grace returned to England on the 25th of February; and, on his firſt appearance in the houſe of lords, received the thanks of that auguſt aſſembly. His ſtay was ſo very ſhort, that we need not dwell upon what paſſed in the winter. It is ſufficient to ſay, that they who feared the dangerous effects of thoſe artful propoſals France had been making for the concluſion of a general peace, were alſo of opinion, that nobody was ſo capable of ſetting their danger in a true light in Holland, as his grace of Marlborough. This induced the queen to ſend him thither the latter end of March, in the character of her plenipotentiary; which contributed not a little to the enemy's diſappointment by defeating all their projects.

Marſhall Villars commanded the French army in the campaign of the year 1709; and Lewis XIV. expreſſed no ſmall hopes of him, in ſaying, a little before the opening of it, that "Villars was never beaten." However, the ſiege of Tournay, and the battle of Malplaquet, convinced the monarch that Villars was not invincible.

Tournay ſurrendered to the allies on the 30th of July, and, on the 11th of September following, was fought the battle of *Bloregnies*, or Malplaquet, near Mons; the allies were commanded by the duke of Marlborough and

and prince Eugene, and the French by the famous marſhals of France, Villars and Boufflers. Each army conſiſted of about 100,000 of the beſt troops ever ſeen in Europe, and after a moſt obſtinate engagement, in which the allies had every difficulty to ſurmount, from the advantageous ſituation of the French army, they penetrated their intrenchments, and obliged the enemy to retreat; but this victory coſt the allies very dear, for they loſt 20,000 men. However, when the news arrived in England, the honour of gaining the day was thought ſo great, that the city of London renewed their congratulatory addreſſes to the queen; and her majeſty in council, on the third of October following, ordered a proclamation for a general thankſgiving.

The duke of Marlborough came to St. James's on the 10th of November, and ſoon after received the thanks of both houſes; and the queen, as if deſirous of any occaſion to ſhew her kindneſs to his grace, appointed him lord-lieutenant and cuſtos-rotulorum of the county of Oxford. But amidſt theſe honours, preferments, and favours, the duke was really chagrined to the laſt degree. He perceived, that the French intrigues began to prevail both in England and Holland; the affair of Dr. Sacheverell had thrown the nation into a ferment; and the queen was not only eſtranged from the ducheſs of Marlborough, but had taken ſuch a diſlike to her, that ſhe ſeldom appeared at court.

In the beginning of the year 1710, the French ſet on foot a new negociation for a peace, which was commonly diſtinguiſhed by the title of the treaty of Gertrudenburg. The ſtates-general upon this, having ſhewn an inclination to enter into conferences with the French plenipotentiaries, the houſe of commons immediately framed an addreſs to the queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to ſend the duke of Marlborough over to the Hague; with which requeſt her majeſty complied; and, towards the latter end of February, his grace went to the Hague, where he met with prince Eugene, and ſoon after ſet

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out with him for the army, which was aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Tournay.

This campaign was very ſucceſsful, many towns being taken and fortreſſes reduced: notwithſtanding which, when the duke came over to England, about the middle of December, he found his intereſt declining, and his ſervices ſet at nought. The negociations for peace were carried on during a great part of the ſummer; but in July, the French and the Dutch miniſtry broke off the treaty: all the other preliminaries had been ſettled, when the Dutch inſiſted, that the French king ſhould take upon himſelf to compel his grandſon Philip to cede the throne of Spain to Charles the Third, and not leave the allies engaged in a war with Spain. This the French would not agree to, and thus the negociations came to nothing.

In the month of Auguſt, the queen began the great change in her miniſtry, by removing the earl of Sunderland from being ſecretary of ſtate: the lord-treaſurer Godolphin was likewiſe removed.

Upon the meeting of the parliament no notice was taken in the addreſſes of the duke of Marlborough's ſucceſs; an attempt, indeed, was made to procure him the thanks of the houſe of peers, but it was eagerly oppoſed by the duke of Argyll. His grace was kindly received by the queen, who ſeemed deſirous to have him live upon good terms with her new miniſtry; but this was thought impracticable; and it was every day expected that he would lay down his commiſſion. He did not do this; but he carried the golden key, the enſign of the ducheſs of Marlborough's dignity on the 9th of January 1711, to the queen, and reſigned all her employments with great duty and ſubmiſſion. With the ſame firmneſs and compoſure he conſulted the neceſſary meaſures for the next campaign with thoſe whom he knew to be no friends of his; and treated all parties with candour and reſpect.

There is no doubt, that the duke felt ſome inward diſquiet,

diſquiet, though he ſhewed no outward concern, at leaſt for himſelf: but, when the earl of Galway was indecently treated in the houſe of lords, the duke of Marlborough could not help ſaying, it was ſomewhat ſtrange, that generals, who had acted according to the beſt of their underſtandings, and had loſt their limbs in the ſervice, ſhould be examined, like offenders, about inſignificant things.

An exterior civility, in court language ſtyled a good underſtanding, being eſtabliſhed between the duke and the new miniſtry, the duke went over to the Hague, to prepare for the next campaign, which, at the ſame time, he knew would be his laſt. He exerted himſelf in an uncommon manner, and it was attended with the uſual ſucceſs.

There was, in this campaign, a continued trial of ſkill between the duke of Marlborough and marſhal Villars; and, as great a general as the latter was, he was obliged at length to ſubmit to the former.

The duke embarked for England when the campaign was over, and came to London upon the 8th of November. He ſhewed ſome caution in his manner of coming; for, happening to land the very night of queen Elizabeth's inauguration, when great rejoicings were intended by the populace, he continued very prudently at Greenwich, and the next day waited on the queen at Hampton-court, who received him graciouſly. He was viſited by the miniſters, and viſited them; but he did not go to council, becauſe a negociation for peace was then on the carpet, upon a baſis which he did by no means approve.

He acquainted her majeſty, in the audience he had at his arrival, that, as he could not concur in the meaſures of thoſe who directed her councils, ſo he would not diſtract them by a fruitleſs oppoſition: yet, finding himſelf attacked in the houſe of lords, and loaded with the imputation of having protracted the war, he vindicated his conduct and character with great dignity and ſpirit;

ſpirit; and, in a moſt pathetic ſpeech, appealed to the queen his miſtreſs, who was there *incognito*, for the falſehood of that imputation; declaring that he was as much for a peace as any man, provided it was ſuch a peace as might be expected from a war undertaken on ſo juſt motives, and carried on with uninterrupted ſucceſs.

This had a great effect on that auguſt aſſembly, and perhaps made ſome impreſſion on the queen; but, at the ſame time, it gave ſuch an edge to the reſentment of his enemies, who were then in power, that they reſolved, at all adventures, to remove him. Thoſe who were thus reſolved to diveſt him of his commiſſion, found themſelves under a neceſſity to engage the queen to take it from him. This neceſſity aroſe chiefly from prince Eugene's being expected to come over with a commiſſion from the emperor; and, to give ſome colour to it, an inquiry was promoted in the houſe of commons, to fix a very high imputation on the duke, as if he had put very large ſums of public money into his pocket. When a queſtion to this purpoſe had been carried, the queen, by a letter conceived in very obſcure terms, acquainted him with her having no farther occaſion for his ſervice, and diſmiſſed him from all his employments.

He was, from this time, expoſed to a moſt painful perſecution. On the one hand, he was attacked by the clamours of the populace, and by thoſe licentious writers who are always ready to eſpouſe the quarrels of a miniſtry, and to inſult, without mercy, thoſe they can inſult with impunity. On the other hand, a proſecution was commenced againſt him by the attorney-general, for applying public money to his private uſe; and the workmen employed in building Blenheim-houſe, though ſet at work by the crown, were encouraged to ſue his grace for the money that was due to them. All his actions were alſo ſhamefully miſrepreſented.

Theſe uneaſineſſes, joined to his grief for the death of the earl of Godolphin, inclined his grace to gratify

his enemies by a voluntary exile. Accordingly, he embarked at Dover upon the 14th of November 1712; and, landing at Oſtend, went from thence to Antwerp, and ſo on to Aix la Chapelle, being every where received with the honours due to his high rank and merit. The ducheſs of Marlborough alſo attended her lord in all his journeys, and particularly in his viſit to the principality of Mindelheim, which was given him by the emperor, and exchanged for another at the peace, which was made while the duke was abroad.

The concluſion of that peace was ſo far from reſtoring any harmony among the ſeveral parties of Great Britain, that it widened their differences exceedingly; inſomuch, that the chiefs, deſpairing of ſafety in the way they were in, are ſaid to have ſecretly invited the duke of Marlborough back to England. Be that as it will, it is very certain that the duke took a reſolution of returning a little before the queen's death; and, landing at Dover, came to London upon the 4th of Auguſt 1714.

He was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy by thoſe, who (upon the demiſe of the queen, which happened upon the firſt of that month) were intruſted with the government; and, upon the arrival of king George I. was particularly diſtinguiſhed by acts of royal favour; for he was again declared captain-general and commander-in-chief of all his majeſty's land-forces, colonel of the firſt regiment of foot guards, and maſter of the ordnance.

His advice was of great uſe in concerting thoſe meaſures by which the rebellion in the year 1715 was cruſhed, and this was his laſt effort in reſpect to public affairs; for, his infirmities increaſing with his years, he retired from buſineſs, and ſpent the greateſt part of his time, during the remainder of his life, at one or other of his country houſes.

His death happened on the 16th of June 1722, at Windſor-lodge; and his corpſe, upon the 9th of Auguſt following,

following, was interred, with the higheſt ſolemnity, in Weſtminſter-abbey.

Beſides the marquis of Blandford, whom we have already mentioned, his grace had four daughters, who married into the beſt families of the kingdom.

*** *Authorities.* Lediard's Life of the Duke of Marlborough, 8vo. 1736. Biog. Britan. Smollet's Hiſtory of England.

THE LIFE OF

ROBERT HARLEY,

EARL OF OXFORD AND MORTIMER.

[A. D. 1661, to 1727.]

THIS eminent ſtateſman was the eldeſt ſon of Sir Edward Harley, and was born in London in the year 1661.

He was educated under the reverend Mr. Birch, at Shilton near Burford, in Oxfordſhire; which, though a private ſchool, was remarkable for producing at the ſame time a lord-high-treaſurer, viz. lord Oxford; a lord-high-chancellor, lord Harcourt; a lord-chief-juſtice of the common-pleas, lord Trevor; and ten members of the houſe of commons; who were all contemporaries, as well at ſchool as in parliament. Here he laid the foundation of that extenſive knowledge and learning which rendered him afterwards ſo conſpicuous in the world.

At the Revolution, Sir Edward Harley, and this his eldeſt ſon, raiſed a troop of horſe at their own expence, for the ſervice of the prince of Orange; and, after the acceſſion of king William and queen Mary, he was firſt choſen member of parliament for Tregony in Cornwall, and afterwards ſerved for the town of Radnor, till he was called up to the houſe of lords.

In 1690, he was choſen by ballot one of the nine members of the houſe of commons commiſſioners for ſtating the public accounts; and alſo one of the arbitrators for uniting the two India companies.

On the 19th of November 1694, the houſe of commons ordered Mr. Harley to prepare and bring in a bill, "For the frequent meeting and calling of parliaments;" which he accordingly did upon the 22d; and it was received and agreed to by both houſes, without any alteration or amendment.

On the 11th of February 1702, he was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons; and that parliament being diſſolved the ſame year by king William, and a new one called, he was again choſen ſpeaker on the 31ſt of December following, as he was in the firſt parliament called by queen Anne.

On the 17th of April 1704, he was ſworn of her majeſty's privy-council; and, on the 18th of May following, he was made one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, being alſo ſpeaker of the houſe of commons at the ſame time.

In 1706, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners for the treaty of union with Scotland, which took effect. He reſigned his place of principal ſecretary of ſtate in February 1708.

On the 10th of Auguſt 1710, he was conſtituted one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury; alſo chancellor and under-treaſurer of the exchequer: and having, three days after, been again ſworn-in of the privy-council, he was, on the 8th of March following, in great danger of his life: the abbé *de la Bourlie*, commonly called the marquis of Guiſcard, a Frenchman then under examination of a committee of the privy-council at Whitehall for high-treaſon, ſtabbing him with a penknife, which he took up in the clerk's room, where he waited before he was examined. Guiſcard was thereupon impriſoned, and died in Newgate, on the 17th of the ſame month.

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The aſſaſſin confeſſed in Newgate, that his intention was to have murdered Mr. St. John (afterwards the famous lord Bolingbroke), at that time one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, who had been very active in the proſecution of one Greg, for a treaſonable correſpondence with France, of which he was convicted, and ſuffered death as a traitor. It ſhould ſeem that Greg and Guiſcard were both in the pay of France; and Mr. Harley having been the firſt detector of Greg's deſigns, this accounts for Guiſcard's vengeance on Mr. Harley, whom he might think a likely perſon to diſcover his own intrigues. Be this as it may, the only reaſon he aſſigned for ſtabbing Mr. Harley, who had changed ſeats with Mr. St. John, ſo that he could not reach the latter, was that he thought it ſome ſatisfaction to kill the perſon whom he imagined to be the moſt intimate friend of, and moſt beloved by, Mr. St. John.

The friends and dependents of the new miniſtry, in the libels of the day, attempted to charge this horrid deed on the Whig party, who had lately been diſmiſſed from all public employments, but without any ſhadow of reaſon; for the villain had no connection with any man of conſequence in the kingdom, and was only a ſecret common ſpy and agent for the French miniſtry.

An act of parliament was ſoon after paſſed, making it felony without benefit of clergy to attempt the life of a privy-counſellor in the execution of his office; and a clauſe was inſerted, to juſtify and indemnify all perſons who, in aſſiſting in defence of Mr. Harley, chancellor of the exchequer, when he was ſtabbed by the Sieur de Guiſcard, and in ſecuring him, did give any wound or bruiſe to the ſaid Sieur de Guiſcard, whereby he received his death.

Both houſes of parliament addreſſed the queen on this occaſion, and expreſſed their great concern in the following terms: "At the moſt barbarous and villainous attempt made upon the perſon of Robert Harley, Eſq. chancellor of your majeſty's exchequer, by the

marquis of Guiſcard, a French Papiſt, at the time when he was under examination for treaſonable practices before a committee of your majeſty's council.

"We cannot but be moſt deeply affected to find ſuch an inſtance of inveterate malice againſt one employed in your majeſty's council, and ſo near your royal perſon; and we have reaſon to believe, that his fidelity to your majeſty, and zeal for your ſervice, have drawn on him the hatred of all the abettors of Popery and faction.

"We think it our duty, on this occaſion, to aſſure your majeſty, that we will effectually ſtand by and defend your majeſty, and thoſe who have the honour to be employed in your ſervice, againſt all public and ſecret attempts of your enemies, &c."

To which the queen returned this anſwer:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I TAKE this addreſs very kindly from you, on the occaſion of that barbarous attempt on Mr. Harley, whoſe zeal and fidelity in my ſervice muſt yet appear more eminently by that horrid endeavour to take away his life, for no other reaſon that appears but his known oppoſition to Popery and faction. Your warm concern for the ſafety of my perſon, and the defence of thoſe employed in my ſervice, is very grateful to me, &c."

The wound he had received confined him for ſome weeks; but, the houſe being informed that it was almoſt healed, and that he would in a few days come abroad, they reſolved to congratulate his eſcape and recovery; and accordingly, upon his next attendance in the houſe, which was upon the 26th of April, the ſpeaker addreſſed himſelf to him in a very reſpectful ſpeech; to which Mr. Harley returned as reſpectful an anſwer.

In May 1711, her majeſty, to reward his many eminent ſervices, was pleaſed to advance him to the peerage of Great Britain, by the ſtile and titles of baron Harley of Wigmore, in the county of Hereford; earl

of

of Oxford, and earl Mortimer; with remainder, for want of male iſſue of his own body, to the heirs-male of Sir Robert Harley, knight of the bath, his grandfather.

This dignity was likewiſe intended as an introduction to the high office to which he was ſoon after advanced; for, on the 29th of the ſame month, the queen was pleaſed to nominate him lord-high-treaſurer of Great Britain; and, on the 1ſt of June, his lordſhip took the uſual oaths; on which occaſion, Sir Simon Harcourt, the lord-keeper of the great-ſeal, made him the following ſpeech:

"My Lord,

"THE queen, who does every thing with the greateſt wiſdom, has given a proof of it in the honours ſhe has lately conferred on you, which are exactly ſuited to your deſerts and qualifications. My lord, the title which you now bear could not have been ſo juſtly placed on any other of her majeſty's ſubjects. Some of that ancient blood which fills your veins is derived from the *Veres;* and you have ſhewn yourſelf as ready to ſacrifice it for the ſafety of your prince, and the good of your country, and as fearleſs of danger on the moſt trying occaſions, as ever any of that brave and loyal houſe were. Nor is that title leſs ſuited to you, as it carries in it a relation to one of the chief ſeats of learning; for even your enemies, my lord, if any ſuch there ſtill are, muſt own, that the love of letters, and the encouragement of thoſe who excel in them, is one diſtinguiſhing part of your character.

"My lord, the high ſtation of lord-treaſurer of Great Britain, to which her majeſty has called you, is the juſt reward of your eminent ſervices. You have been the great inſtrument of reſtoring public credit, and relieving this nation from the heavy preſſure and ignominy of an immenſe debt, under which it languiſhed; and you are now intruſted with the power of ſecuring us from a relapſe into the ſame ill ſtate out of which you have reſcued us.

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" This great office, my lord, is every way worthy of you; particularly on the account of thoſe many difficulties with which the faithful diſcharge of it muſt be unavoidably attended, and which require a genius like yours to maſter them.

" The only difficulty which even you, my lord, may find inſuperable, is, how to deſerve better of the crown and kingdom after this advancement than you did before it."

That the earl of Oxford merited the encomiums beſtowed on him in this ſpeech, and even the treaſury-ſtaff, for his abilities as a financier, his greateſt enemies could not deny; but his flatterers, and particularly the celebrated dean Swift, from hence drew a falſe concluſion, and have endeavoured to exhibit him to poſterity as the mirror of miniſters: but ſuch repreſentations can only ſerve to lead the reader into party-controverſy, in which his reſearches for truth and candour will be fruitleſs. Contemporary hiſtorians of oppoſite parties agree in allowing him the merit of having retrieved the public credit of the nation, which had been reduced to a very low ebb, by the miſmanagement of the earl of Godolphin his predeceſſor; inſomuch that navy bills, and ſome other public debts, left unprovided for by parliament, and unliquidated, were at 40 per cent. diſcount; and the conſequence was, that all the contracts made by government for naval ſtores, proviſions, and ammunition, were highly diſadvantageous and burthenſome to the nation.

The earl of Oxford put the navy bills in courſe of payment, by the introduction of exchequer bills; and when theſe fell to a diſcount of only three per cent. he made an agreement with the bank to circulate them at par. He likewiſe granted to the public creditors the excluſive trade to the South Seas, and incorporated them into a company, of which he was made governor, on the 15th of Auguſt 1711, in gratitude for his having been their founder and chief director. Upon this occaſion

ſion, navy bills roſe 20 per cent. and were ſoon after at only 10 per cent. diſcount. His next care was to put a ſtop to the horrid avarice and uſury of the contractors, and remitters of money to the army; and, finally, he eſtabliſhed parliamentary lotteries; but theſe being conſidered by the commercial world as a grievance, while the managers of the treaſury look upon them as an eaſy reſource for liquidating public debts, it muſt be left to the reader's own judgment to determine, whether the earl of Oxford's reputation as an able financier is increaſed or diminiſhed, by this operation.

Having done juſtice to the memory of the earl of Oxford in his treaſury department, the memoirs of his life conduct us next to a review of his political talents, as the avowed prime miniſter of Great Britain; and the firſt important tranſaction with reſpect to foreign affairs, in which he was the principal manager, was the peace of Utrecht.

During the negociations for this treaty, ſeveral repreſentations were made to the queen againſt many particulars of the intended treaty. The houſe of lords, in February 1712, complained of the diſgraceful terms of peace offered by France, and of the inſolence of that that court, in propoſing not to acknowledge her majeſty's title to the crown of Great Britain till after the peace ſhould be ſigned.

Yet how very differently the miniſter thought of the propoſed preliminaries, may be collected from the following ſpeech made by the queen to the parliament on the 6th of June, the ſame year.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The making peace and war is undoubtedly the prerogative of the crown; yet, ſuch is the juſt confidence I place in you, that, at the opening of this ſeſſion, I acquainted you, that a negociation for a general peace was begun; and afterwards, by meſſages, I promiſed

promiſed to communicate to you the terms of peace before they ſhould be concluded.

" In purſuance of that promiſe, I now come to let you know upon what terms that peace may be made.

" I need not mention the difficulties which ariſe from the very nature of this affair; and it is but too apparent, that theſe difficulties have been increaſed by other obſtructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work.

" Nothing, however, hath hindered me, from ſteadily purſuing, in the firſt place, the true intereſts of my own kingdoms; and I have not omitted any thing which might procure to all our allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is neceſſary for their ſecurity.

" The aſſuring of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, as by law eſtabliſhed in the houſe of Hanover, to theſe kingdoms, being what I have neareſt at heart, particular care is taken, not only to have that acknowledged in the ſtrongeſt terms, but to have an additional ſecurity, by the removal of that perſon out of the dominions of France, who hath pretended to diſturb this ſettlement.

" The apprehenſions, that Spain and the Weſt Indies might be united to France, was the chief inducement to begin this war; and the effectual preventing of ſuch an union, was the principle I laid down at the commencement of this treaty: former examples, and the late negociations, ſufficiently ſhew how difficult it is to find means to accompliſh this work. I would not content myſelf with ſuch as are ſpeculative, or depend on treaties only: I inſiſted on what was ſolid, and to that end have at hand the power of executing what ſhould be agreed.

" I can therefore now tell you, That France, at laſt, is brought to offer, that the duke of Anjou ſhall, for himſelf and his deſcendents, renounce for ever all claim to the crown of France; and, that this important article may be expoſed to no hazard, the performance is to accompany the promiſe.

" At

"At the ſame time, the ſucceſſion to the crown of France is to be declared, after the death of the preſent dauphin and his ſons, to be in the duke of Berry and his ſons, in the duke of Orleans and his ſons, and ſo on to the reſt of the houſe of Bourbon.

"As to Spain and the Indies, the ſucceſſion to thoſe dominions, after the duke of Anjou and his children, is to deſcend to ſuch prince as ſhall be agreed on at the treaty, for ever excluding the reſt of the houſe of Bourbon.

"For confirming the renunciations and ſettlements before-mentioned, 'tis further offered, that they ſhould be ratified in the moſt ſtrong and ſolemn manner, both in France and Spain, and that thoſe kingdoms, as well as all the other powers engaged in the preſent war, ſhall be guarantees to the ſame.

"The nature of this propoſal is ſuch, that it executes itſelf: the intereſt of Spain is to ſupport it; and, in France, the perſons to whom that ſucceſſion is to belong will be ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own right.

"France and Spain are now more effectually divided than ever. And thus, by the bleſſing of God, will a real balance of power be fixed in Europe, and remain liable to as few accidents as human affairs can be exempted from.

"A treaty of commerce between theſe kingdoms and France has been entered upon; but the exceſſive duties laid on ſome goods, and the prohibitions of others, make it impoſſible to finiſh this work ſo ſoon as were to be deſired. Care is taken, however, to eſtabliſh a method of ſettling this matter; and, in the mean time, proviſion is made, that the ſame privileges and advantages, as ſhall be granted to any other nation by France, ſhall be granted in like manner to us.

"The diviſion of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher between us and the French, having been the cauſe of great inconveniency and damage to my ſubjects, I have demanded

promiſed to communicate to you the terms of peace before they ſhould be concluded.

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" I can therefore now tell you, That France, at laſt, is brought to offer, that the duke of Anjou ſhall, for himſelf and his deſcendents, renounce for ever all claim to the crown of France; and, that this important article may be expoſed to no hazard, the performance is to accompany the promiſe.

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" The diviſion of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher between us and the French, having been the cauſe of great inconveniency and damage to my ſubjects, I have demanded

demanded to have an abſolute ceſſion made to me of the whole iſland; and France agreeth to this demand.

"Our intereſt is ſo deeply concerned in the trade of North America, that I have uſed my utmoſt endeavours to adjuſt that article in the moſt beneficial manner. France conſenteth to reſtore to us the whole bay and ſtreights of Hudſon, to deliver up the iſland of Newfoundland, with Placentia; and to make an abſolute ceſſion of Annapolis, with the reſt of Nova Scotia, or Acadia. The ſafety of our home-trade will be the better provided for by the demoliſhing of Dunkirk.

"Our Mediterranean trade, and the Britiſh intereſt and influence in thoſe parts, will be ſecured by the poſſeſſion of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, with the whole iſland of Minorca, which are offered to remain in my hands.

"The trade to Spain and the Weſt Indies may, in general, be ſettled as it was in the time of the late king of Spain, Charles II. and a particular proviſion made, that all advantages, rights, or privileges, which have been granted, or may hereafter be granted, by Spain, to any other nation, ſhall be, in like manner, granted to the ſubjects of Great Britain.

"But the part which we have borne in the proſecution of this war, intitling us to ſome diſtinction in the terms of peace, I have inſiſted, and obtained, that the aſſiento, or contract, for furniſhing the Spaniſh Weſt Indies with negroes, ſhall be made with us for the term of thirty years, in the ſame manner as it hath been enjoyed by the French for ten years paſt.

"I have not taken upon me to determine the intereſts of our confederates; theſe muſt be adjuſted in the congreſs at Utrecht, where my beſt endeavours ſhall be employed, as they have hitherto conſtantly been, to procure to every one of them all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction. In the mean time, I think it proper to acquaint you, that France offers to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire; to yield Briſack, the fort of Kehl,

and

and Landau, and to raze all the fortreſſes, both on the other ſide of the Rhine, and in that river.

" As to the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany, there will be, on the part of France, no objection to the reſettling thereof on the footing of the treaty of Weſtphalia.

" The Spaniſh Low Countries may go to his imperial majeſty: the kingdom of Naples and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain, on the coaſt of Tuſcany, may likewiſe be yielded, by treaty of peace, to the emperor.

" As to the kingdom of Sicily, though there remaineth no diſpute concerning the ceſſion of it by the duke of Anjou, yet the diſpoſition thereof is not yet determined.

" The intereſts of the ſtates-general, with reſpect to commerce, are agreed to, as they have been demanded by their own miniſters, with the exception only of ſome very few ſpecies of merchandize; and the intire barrier, as demanded by the ſtates in 1709 from France, except two or three places at moſt.

" As to theſe exceptions, ſeveral expedients are propoſed; and I make no doubt, but that this barrier may be ſo ſettled, as to render that republic perfectly ſecure againſt any enterprize on the part of France; which is the foundation of all my engagements upon this head with the ſtates.

" The demands of Portugal depending upon the diſpoſition of Spain, and that article having been long in diſpute, it has not been yet poſſible to make any conſiderable progreſs therein; but my plenipotentiaries will now have an opportunity to aſſiſt that king in his pretenſions.

" Thoſe of the king of Pruſſia are ſuch as, I hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part of France; and my utmoſt endeavours ſhall not be wanting to procure all I am able to ſo good an ally.

" The difference between the barrier demanded for

the duke of Savoy, in 1709, and the offers now made by France, is very inconſiderable: but that prince having ſo ſignally diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of the common cauſe, I am endeavouring to procure for him ſtill greater advantages.

"France has conſented that the elector-palatine ſhall continue his preſent rank among the electors, and remain in poſſeſſion of the Upper Palatinate.

"The electoral dignity is likewiſe acknowledged in the houſe of Hanover, according to the article inſerted, at that prince's deſire, in my demands.

"And as to the reſt of the allies, I make no doubt of being able to ſecure their ſeveral intereſts.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have now communicated to you, not only the terms of peace, which may, by the future treaty, be obtained for my own ſubjects, but likewiſe the propoſals for ſatisfying our allies.

"The former are ſuch as I have reaſon to expect, to make my people ſome amends for that great and unequal burthen which they have lain under through the whole courſe of this war; and I am willing to hope, that none of our confederates, and eſpecially thoſe to whom ſo great acceſſions of dominion and power are to accrue by this peace, will envy Britain her ſhare in the glory and advantage of it.

"The latter are not yet ſo perfectly adjuſted, as a little more time might have rendered them; but the ſeaſon of the year making it neceſſary to put an end to the ſeſſion, I reſolved no longer to defer communicating theſe matters to you.

"I can make no doubt but you are fully perſuaded, that nothing will be neglected on my part, in the progreſs of the negociation, to bring the peace to a happy and ſpeedy iſſue; and I depend on your intire confidence in me, and your cheerful concurrence with me."

During

During the receſs of parliament, her majeſty gave a further teſtimony of her approbation of the earl of Oxford's management of this negociation, by inveſting him with the order of the garter; and on the 30th of March 1713, nine days before the meeting of parliament, the peace was ſigned at Utrecht. The communication of this event to both houſes of parliament, and afterwards to the public, was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy.

But, in the following year, it was diſcovered that the treaty was very defective, and highly detrimental to the commerce of Great Britain, eſpecially with reſpect to the ſeparate treaty with Spain; and, on the 7th of July 1714, the houſe of lords addreſſed her majeſty, deſiring her to uſe effectual means to procure ſuch alterations to be made in the ſame, as might render the trade with Spain practicable and beneficial to her ſubjects. A general diſcontent ſoon diſcovered itſelf in the nation, and broke out in bitter invectives from the preſs, againſt the adviſers of the peace; inability, or want of integrity, was publicly laid to the charge of the lord-treaſurer; and this, joined to the apprehenſions of a ſecret deſign at court to bring in the pretender, and ſet aſide the Hanover ſucceſſion, effected his diſgrace in a very ſhort ſpace of time: for he was diſmiſſed from his office only twenty days after the houſe of peers had addreſſed the queen as before related; and the ſtaff was given to the duke of Shrewſbury, who was at the ſame time made lord-chamberlain of the houſehold, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

The queen did not long ſurvive this change of her miniſtry, which was general through every department of the ſtate; and, having been partly compelled to it, by the univerſal clamour againſt adminiſtration, contrary to her own private inclinations, it is ſuppoſed that it haſtened her death, which happened on the firſt of Auguſt, in the 50th year of her age.

The earl of Oxford, however, was nominated by

George I. one of the nineteen perſons to be added to the ſeven great officers of ſtate, to compoſe a regency, agreeably to an act of the late queen, till his majeſty ſhould be fully ſeated on the throne.

But on opening the firſt ſeſſion of the new parliament, on the 21ſt of March 1715, his majeſty, in his ſpeech, reflected ſtrongly on the inſecurity, and other diſadvantages of the late peace, which he called, "A fatal ceſſation of arms." This laid the foundation for an impeachment of the earl of Oxford, by the commons, on the 10th of June, for high-treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanours; and, on the 6th of July, the houſe of lords committed him to the Tower. The duke of Ormond, lord Bolingbroke, the earl of Strafford, and Mr. Prior, who had all had a ſhare in adviſing or negociating the peace of Utrecht, were likewiſe impeached. The duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke fled to France; the earl of Strafford and Mr. Prior were diſcharged; but the earl of Oxford remained a priſoner in the Tower, till the 1ſt of July 1717, when he was brought to his trial in Weſtminſter-hall; at the opening of which, the earl of Harcourt ſaid, he had a motion to make. The lords, thereupon, adjourned to their own houſe, where the earl propoſed, that the commons ſhould make good the two articles of high-treaſon before they proceeded on the numerous charges of high crimes and miſdemeanours; this motion being carried, was communicated to the commons; and they refuſed to aſſent to it, which produced a diſagreement between the two houſes; and the lords returning to Weſtminſter-hall, ſent to acquaint the commons, that they were ready to proceed on the trial: but the commons, inſtead of ſending their managers to make good the charge of high-treaſon, abruptly adjourned to the 3d of July: the lords, therefore, after proclamation made three ſeveral times for his accuſers to appear, diſcharged the earl from the impeachment, only three votes diſſenting; and they ordered that he ſhould be immediately

diately ſet at liberty. Some writers have falſely ſaid that he was acquitted by his peers; but this is miſtaking the caſe, for the charge was not inquired into, nor any evidence produced, the difference between the two houſes putting an end to the judicial proceedings.

His lordſhip, from this time, paſſed his days in rural retirement, and in occaſional ſociety with men of letters, to whom he was a patron when in power, and a friend and companion in private life. He died in the year 1727, and left a ſon, who ſucceeded him in his honours and eſtate.

The characters drawn of this great ſtateſman widely differ. His adverſaries, though they admit ſome beauties, drew his portrait with ſuch dark colours, that they are almoſt obſcured. His friends, on the contrary, by portraying him as an angel, call in queſtion their own integrity, and the reſemblance of the picture to the man and the courtier. Lord Bolingbroke, in his curious letter to Sir William Wyndham, printed in his lordſhip's works, confirms our firſt obſervations; and the following adulatory lines of the immortal Pope no leſs verify the laſt:

A ſoul ſupreme, in each hard inſtance try'd
Above all pain, all anger, and all pride;
The rage of pow'r, the blaſt of public breath,
The luſt of lucre, and the dread of death.

We preſume, therefore, that we ſhall be juſtified, in recommending to the reader an attentive peruſal of the beſt hiſtories of the time in which he lived, as the only method of forming a judgment of him in his public capacity. As to his private life, his enemies allow that it was exemplary.

*** *Authorities.* Collins's Lives of the Earls of Oxford, Lond. 1752. Biog. Britan. Birch's Lives. Continuation of Rapin's Hiſtory of England, by Tindal.

SUPPLEMENT.

THE LIFE OF

ROBERT BOYLE.

[A. D. 1627, to 1691.]

HISTORIANS and political writers, both ancient and modern, have advanced it as an unerring propoſition, "That learning, and every branch of the liberal and polite arts, flouriſh in proportion to the freedom of civil ſocieties." And ſome have refined ſo far upon this general maxim, as to aſſert, "That they ſucceed better under republican than under monarchial governments." But the latter opinion ſeems to have been founded on the progreſs of human knowledge under the ancient republics of Greece; for it by no means holds univerſally true with reſpect to modern commonwealths.

Nor is the general maxim free from ſome exceptions.

France furniſhes an inſtance to prove, that the ſun of ſcience may pervade the thick clouds of deſpotiſm, and ſhine forth with refulgent ſplendor, for a ſeaſon, even amidſt the carnage of war, and the ravages of ambitious tyranny. Part of the age of Louis XIV. was the golden one of the arts and ſciences in France; but not the whole of that æra, as Voltaire falſely aſſerts.

The impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantz, in 1685, baniſhed from that kingdom, with many thouſands of ingenious and induſtrious mechanic artiſts, ſome of the moſt eminent profeſſors of polite literature, who could not ſubmit to the intolerant perſecuting ſpirit of Popery. And the Revolution in England, in 1688, by which religious and civil liberty was fixed on

a firm and permanent baſis, was the æra of the revival of ſcience in this country, the progreſs of which had been interrupted by civil commotions, and by a royal conſpiracy to overturn the free conſtitution of the realm, and to eſtabliſh arbitrary power, by introducing its fit engine, the Romiſh religion.

From the Revolution, to the preſent time, under the auſpices of better ſovereigns, and when the liberties of the people have been more firmly ſecured and eſtabliſhed, the improvement of the human underſtanding has been the ſtudy and delight of men of ſuperior genius in the walks of private life. And this æra has produced ſuch a plentiful harveſt of eminent divines, philoſophers, poets, and artiſts, that it would far exceed the limits of this work, if we were to give only conciſe memoirs of each; it muſt therefore be our buſineſs to ſelect ſuch, whoſe learned labours have been moſt uſeful to their country.

The Supplement to this volume, however, obliges us to go back to a prior period, and to include two or three eminent men, who only juſt ſurvived the glorious Revolution. Of this number is ROBERT BOYLE, a man ſuperior to titles, and almoſt to praiſe; illuſtrious by birth, by learning, and by virtue.

He was the ſeventh ſon, and the fourteenth child, of Richard Boyle, earl of Corke. He was born at Liſmore, in the county of Corke, and province of Munſter, in the kingdom of Ireland, in the year 1627; and, though he was the only one of his father's ſons who attained to manhood, without being honoured with a a title, and alſo the only one who did not diſtinguiſh himſelf in public buſineſs, yet his life was not leſs uſeful to his country than that of the greateſt ſtateſman.

His father, whoſe life we have given in our third volume, committed him to the care of a plain country nurſe, with inſtructions to bring him up as hardily as if he had been her own ſon; which ſhe purſued, and thereby gave him a ſtrong and vigorous conſtitution, which

which he afterwards loſt by being treated with too great tenderneſs.

When he was about three years old, he had the miſfortune to loſe his mother; for which he ſhews great regret, in ſome memoirs that he has left us of the more early part of his life, eſteeming it a ſingular unhappineſs never to have ſeen one of his parents ſo as to remember her; and the more ſo, from the character he heard of her in her own family, and from all who knew her.

Another accident happened to him while at nurſe, which gave him no ſmall trouble as long as he lived; and that was, his learning to ſtutter, by mocking ſome children of his own age, and of which, though no endeavours were ſpared, he could never be perfectly cured.

His father ſent for him home, when he was about ſeven years old; and, not long after, in a journey to Dublin, he ran a very great riſk of loſing his life, if one of his father's gentlemen had not taken him out of a coach, which, in paſſing a brook, ſwelled by ſome ſudden ſhowers, was carried away by the ſtream, and beaten to pieces.

While at home he was taught to write a very fair hand, and to ſpeak French and Latin, by one of the earl's chaplains, and a Frenchman whom he kept in the houſe.

In the year 1635, his father thought fit to ſend him to England, to be educated at Eton, under Sir Henry Wotton, the earl of Corke's old acquaintance and friend. With this view, in company with Mr. Francis Boyle, his elder brother, afterwards lord Shannon, he ſet out for Youghall, and from thence, not without great danger of being taken by ſome of the Turkiſh pirates then infeſting the Iriſh coaſt, he croſſed the ſeas to England, and landed happily at Briſtol.

On his arrival at Eton, he was put under the care of Mr. Harriſon, then maſter of that ſchool; of whoſe attention

tention for, and kindneſs towards him, he makes very honourable mention in his memoirs; and obſerves, that it was chiefly by the prudent methods he purſued, that he came to have that taſte and reliſh for learning, for which, even in the earlier part of his life he grew ſo remarkable. He likewiſe mentions, "that the accidental peruſal of Quintus Curtius, the celebrated Latin writer of the Life of Alexander the Great, firſt made him in love with other than pedantic books."

He remained at Eton, in the whole, between three and four years; and then his father carried him to his own ſeat, at Stalbridge, in Dorſetſhire, where he remained, for ſome time, under the care of Mr. William Douch, then rector of the pariſh, and one of the earl of Corke's chaplains.

In the autumn of the year 1638, he attended his father to London, and remained with him, at the Savoy, till his brother, Mr. Francis Boyle, eſpouſed Mrs. Elizabeth Killigrew; and then, towards the end of the month of October, within four days after the marriage was celebrated, the two brothers, Francis and Robert, were ſent abroad upon their travels, under the care of Mr. Marcombes, an eminent French preceptor, who had formerly been governor to the lords Kinealmeaky and Broghill.

They embarked at Rye, in Suſſex, and from thence proceeded to Dieppe, in Normandy; from whence they travelled by land to Rouen, ſo to Paris, and from thence to Lyons; from which city, they continued their journey to Geneva, and there the two young gentlemen purſued their ſtudies with great aſſiduity. Mr. Boyle, during his ſtay here, reſumed his acquaintance with the mathematics, or, at leaſt, with the elements of that ſcience, of which he had firſt obtained ſome knowledge at Eton.

He was now drawing towards fourteen; and his temper being naturally very grave and ſerious, his thoughts were often turned to religious ſubjects, but, however, not without ſome mixture of doubts and difficulties,

ficulties, as himſelf acknowledges, about the certainty of the Chriſtian Revelation. This, inſtead of having any bad effects, was productive of very good conſequences; he examined coolly and circumſtantially the evidence in favour of the goſpel, and concluded, by dint of reaſoning, that this was the only certain and ſure way to ſalvation.

While he remained at Geneva, he made ſome excurſions to viſit the adjacent country of Savoy; and even proceeded ſo far as to Grenoble, in Dauphiny, and took a view alſo of thoſe wild mountains, where Bruno, the founder of the Carthuſian order of Monks, lived in ſolitude, at the time he inſtituted that order.

In September 1641, he quitted Geneva, and paſſing through Switzerland, and the country of the Griſons, entered Lombardy, and, taking his rout through Bergamo, Breſcia, and Verona, arrived at Venice, and, having made a ſhort ſtay there, returned to the continent, and ſpent the winter at Florence; and, during his ſtay in that city, the famous aſtronomer Galileo died at a village not far from thence.

While he reſided in this city, he had an opportunity of acquiring the Italian language, which he underſtood perfectly, though he never ſpoke it ſo fluently as the French, of which he became ſo great a maſter, that, as occaſion required, he paſſed for a native of the country in more places than one during his travels.

About the end of March, he began his journey from Florence to Rome, which took up but five days; and, after having ſurveyed that famous city, the climate diſagreeing with his brother, he returned to Florence, from thence to Leghorn, and ſo by ſea to Genoa. He made but a ſhort ſtay there; and then paſſing through the county of Nice, croſſed the ſea to Antibes, from whence he went to Marſeilles by land.

He was in that city in the month of May 1642, when he received his father's letters, with a dreadful account of the rebellion juſt then broken out in Ireland; and

and advice likewiſe that, with great difficulty, his lordſhip had procured two hundred and fifty pounds, which he remitted his ſons, to enable them to return home; but this money they never received; for, being put into the hands of one Mr. Perkins, a conſiderable trader in the city of London, he proved unfaithful to his truſt; which drove theſe two noble youths to the utmoſt diſtreſs; till, with much ado, their governor, Mr. Marcombes, ſupplied them with as much as brought them to Geneva, where they continued with him for ſome time; and, having neither ſupplies nor advices from England, he was obliged, in order to enable them to go home, to take up ſome jewels on his own credit, which they diſpoſed of with as little loſs as might be, and, with the money thus produced, continued their journey for England, where they arrived in the year 1644.

Their father died the preceding year; and, though he had made an ample proviſion for Mr. Robert Boyle, as well by leaving him his manor of Stalbridge, in England, as other conſiderable eſtates in Ireland, yet it was ſome time before he could receive any money.

During this difficulty, he lodged with his ſiſter, the lady Ranelagh; and, by her intereſt and that of his brobrother, lord Broghill, he procured protections for his eſtates in England and Ireland, from thoſe who had the power then in their hands. He alſo obtained their leave to go over, for a ſhort time, into France, probably that he might have an opportunity of ſettling his accounts with his good old governor and conſtant friend, Mr. Marcombes; but he did not ſtay long abroad, ſince we find him, the December following, at Cambridge.

In the month of March 1646, he retired to his own ſeat at Stalbridge; from whence he made various excurſions, ſometimes to London, ſometimes to Oxford, applying himſelf as aſſiduouſly to his ſtudies as his own circumſtances, or thoſe of the times, would permit; and,

and, indeed, it is very amazing to find what a prodigious progreſs he made, not only in many branches of literature, but in ſome that have been always held the moſt difficult and abſtruſe. He omitted no opportunity of obtaining the acquaintance of perſons diſtinguiſhed for genius and learning, to whom he was, in every reſpect, a ready, uſeful, and generous aſſiſtant, and with whom he maintained a conſtant correſpondence: he was alſo one of the firſt members of that ſmall, but learned body, which held its firſt meetings at London, then removed to Oxford, ſtyled by him "The Inviſible," by themſelves, "The Philoſophical College;" and which, after the Reſtoration, were incorporated, and diſtinguiſhed, as they well deſerved, by the title of "The Royal Society."

It is no ſmall honour to this worthy perſon, that, when he was ſo young a man, his merit and knowledge gained him admittance amongſt perſons the moſt diſtinguiſhed for the acuteneſs of their underſtandings, and the ſingularity, as well as extent, of their knowledge. The great diligence and application of Mr. Boyle was ſo much the more to be eſteemed and commended, as, at this time, his health was very much diſordered by frequent fits of the ſtone, a diſeaſe to which he was extremely ſubject, and to which his ſedentary life and cloſe application to his ſtudies might poſſibly contribute. But notwithſtanding this, and the frequent occaſions he had to remove from place to place, ſometimes on the ſcore of buſineſs, at others to viſit his many noble relations, yet he never ſuffered his thoughts to be diſordered, or the deſigns he had formed to be broken or interrupted by any of theſe accidents, as appears by his having completed three regular and excellent pieces, before he had reached the age of twenty, viz. "his Seraphic Love; his Eſſay on Miſtaken Modeſty; and, The Swearer Silenced;" to which he afterwards gave the title that it now bears, "A Free Diſcourſe againſt Cuſtomary Swearing." Beſides theſe,

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it plainly appears, as well from the writings he has publiſhed, as from many of his private letters, that he had made large collections upon other ſubjects, from ſome of which he afterwards drew diſtinct treatiſes.

The retired courſe of life which, for the ſake of his health, from the bent of his temper, and from the nature of his deſigns, he took a pleaſure to lead, could not hinder his reputation from riſing to ſuch a height, as made him taken notice of by ſome of the moſt eminent members of the republic of letters; ſo that, in 1651, we find Dr. Nathaniel Highmore, a very eminent phyſician, dedicating to him his "Hiſtory of Generation;" in which dedication he ſtyles him both his patron and his friend.

In 1652, he went over to Ireland, in order to viſit and ſettle his eſtates in that kingdom; and there he met with a fall from his horſe in a watery place, which gave him a very grievous fit of ſickneſs. He returned from Ireland to England in Auguſt 1653; but was ſoon after obliged to return again into that kingdom, where he ſpent his time but very unpleaſantly; and it would have been ſtill more ſo, if it had not been for the acquaintance of Dr. Petty, afterwards Sir William Petty, the celebrated writer on Political Arithmetic, who was his intimate friend.

In the ſummer of 1654, he returned to England, and put in execution a deſign he had formed, when he was laſt in that kingdom, of ſettling at Oxford, as well for the ſake of ſeveral of his ingenious friends, who reſided there, as for the many and extraordinary conveniences which the place afforded, for the proſecution of his beloved ſtudies in peace. He choſe to live there, in the houſe of Mr. Croſſe, an apothecary, rather than in a college, for the ſake of his health, and becauſe he had more room for making philoſophical experiments.

It was now that he found himſelf ſurrounded by a number of learned friends, who reſorted thither chiefly for the ſame reaſons that he had done; the Inviſible

College, as he called it, or Philoſophical Society, being now transferred from London to Oxford. It was during his reſidence here, that he invented the air-pump, which was perfected for him, by the ingenious Mr. Hooke, in the year 1658 or 1659; by the help of which, he made ſuch experiments as enabled him to diſcover and demonſtrate ſeveral qualities of the air, by which he laid the foundations for a more complete theory on the ſubject.

He was not, however, ſatisfied with this, but laboured inceſſantly in collecting and digeſting, chiefly from his own experiments, the materials requiſite for this purpoſe. He declared againſt the philoſophy of Ariſtotle, as having in it more of words than things, promiſing much, and performing little; in ſhort, giving the inventions of men for indubitable proofs, inſtead of the reſult of ſuch inquiries as draw the knowledge of the works of Nature from Nature herſelf.

He was ſo careful in, and ſo zealous for, the true method of learning by experiment, that, though the Carteſian philoſophy made then a great noiſe in the world, yet he would never be perſuaded to read the works of Des Cartes, for fear he ſhould be amuſed, and led away with a fair pretence of reaſoning, and plauſible accounts of things, grounded purely on conjecture.

But philoſophy and inquiries into nature, though they engaged his attention deeply, did not occupy it intirely, ſince we find that he ſtill continued to purſue his critical ſtudies, in which he had the aſſiſtance of ſome as great men as have ever flouriſhed in this kingdom, particularly Dr. Edward Pocock, Mr. Thomas Hyde, and Mr. Samuel Clark. He had alſo a ſtrict intimacy with Dr. Thomas Barlow, at that time head-keeper of the Bodleian-library, and afterwards biſhop of Lincoln, a man of various and extenſive learning. He was likewiſe the patron of the very learned Dr. John Pell, and an eminent mathematician; and the famous Dr. John Wallis, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that and other branches

branches of learning, did him the honour to dedicate to him his excellent treatiſe on the Cycloid.

In 1659, being made acquainted with the ſcanty circumſtances of the learned Dr. Robert Sanderſon, afterwards biſhop of Lincoln, he beſtowed upon him a ſtipend of fifty pounds a-year; and that great man thankfully acknowledged the obligations he was under to ſo generous a patron, in a dedication of his lectures, which were printed at Oxford the ſame year.

After the Reſtoration, he was treated with great civility and reſpect by the king, and with much affection and eſteem by his two great miniſters, the lord-treaſurer Southampton, and the lord-chancellor Clarendon, by whom he was preſſed to enter into holy orders, of which he had very ſerious thoughts, but at laſt thought fit to decline it, upon very juſt and diſintereſted motives. The ſame year he publiſhed two of his firſt pieces, one of which was printed at Oxford, and the other at London; the former was his New Experiments touching the ſpring of the air, which he addreſſed to his nephew, the lord Dungarvan; and this drew him into a controverſy with Franciſcus Linus, and the famous Mr. Thomas Hobbes, whoſe objections he refuted with equal candour, clearneſs, and civility. The ſecond was his Diſcourſe on Seraphic Love; and both pieces were received with univerſal applauſe. The fame of his great learning and abilities extended itſelf, even at this time, beyond the bounds of our iſland, ſo that the grand duke of Tuſcany, a prince diſtinguiſhed for learning, deſired Mr. Southwell, then reſident at Florence, to acquaint Mr. Boyle with his deſire of holding a correſpondence with him.

In 1661, he publiſhed his Phyſiological Eſſays, and other tracts, which added greatly to the eſteem that all true lovers of learning had for his knowledge in things of this nature. Some time after, he gave the public another curious and excellent work, intituled, "The Sceptical Chymiſt," which was printed at Oxford; but

ſeveral treatiſes, that are mentioned in this and the former work, as being in great forwardneſs, and which the world very impatiently expected, were afterwards loſt in the hurry of removing his effects at the time of the great fire.

In 1662, a grant of the forfeited impropriations in the kingdom of Ireland was obtained from the king in Mr. Boyle's name, though without his knowledge, which did not hinder his intereſting himſelf very warmly for procuring the application of theſe impropriations to the promoting true religion and learning. He interpoſed likewiſe in favour of the corporation for propagating the goſpel in New England, and was very inſtrumental in obtaining a decree in the court of Chancery, for reſtoring to that corporation, an eſtate, which had been injuriouſly repoſſeſſed by one colonel Bedingfield, a Papiſt, who had ſold it to them for a valuable conſideration.

In 1663, the Royal Society being incorporated by king Charles II. by letters patent, dated the 22d of April, Mr. Boyle was appointed one of the council; and as he might be juſtly reckoned among the founders of that learned body, ſo he continued one of its moſt uſeful and induſtrious members during the whole courſe of his life. In the month of June 1663, he publiſhed his "Conſiderations on the Uſefulneſs of Experimental and Natural Philoſophy," which conſiſted of ſeveral eſſays on uſeful and curious ſubjects, in which they are handled with great freedom, from a juſt zeal for truth, and for the common benefit of mankind; the points which he had always in view when he took his pen in hand. Theſe pieces, thus publiſhed, were, as himſelf tells us, written on ſeveral occaſions, to ſeveral perſons, and at different times; but as, notwithſtanding this, they had a mutual relation to each other, which made them fall very aptly under one common title, he took this method of ſending them abroad, that the world in general might receive that ſatisfaction which particular friends had

had teſtified on the peruſal of them in manuſcript. Theſe were followed by "Experiments and Conſiderations upon Colours;" to which was added, a letter, containing "Obſervations upon a diamond that ſhines in the dark," a treatiſe full of curious and uſeful remarks on the hitherto-unexplained doctrine of light and colours: in which he ſhews great judgment, accuracy, and penetration; and may be ſaid to have paved the way for that mighty genius Sir Iſaac Newton, who afterwards ſet that important point in the cleareſt and moſt convincing light.

He likewiſe publiſhed, this year, his "Conſiderations on the Style of the Holy Scriptures," which was extracted from a much larger work, intituled, "An Eſſay on Scripture," that was afterwards publiſhed by P. P. A. G. F. I. that is, Peter Pett, attorney-general for Ireland, afterwards Sir Peter Pett, a man of great reading, a voluminous writer, but of an unſettled judgment; for whom, on account of his well-meaning and upright intention, Mr. Boyle had a great regard.

In 1664, Mr. Boyle was elected into the company of Royal Mines, and was all this year taken up in the proſecution of various good deſigns, and more eſpecially in promoting the affairs of the corporation for propagating the goſpel in New England, which, in all probability, was the reaſon that he did not publiſh this year any treatiſes either on religion or philoſophy.

In 1665, appeared his "Occaſional Reflections upon ſeveral Subjects; to which is prefixed, a Diſcourſe concerning the Nature and Uſe of ſuch Kind of Writings." This piece, though now publiſhed, had been written many years before, when the author was a young man, at times, and under circumſtances, when few would have written any thing, and none could have written better. The attack made upon it, therefore, by dean Swift, who ſatiriſed it, in a piece called, "Meditations on a Broomſtick, in the manner of Mr. Boyle," may be truly affirmed to be as cruel and unjuſt, as it is trivial and

indecent. A ſhort time after, he publiſhed "Experiments and Obſervations relative to an Experimental Hiſtory of Cold, with ſeveral Pieces thereunto annexed." This work of his, as it was juſtly admired then, ſo it has been always in great eſteem ſince, and may be truly ſaid to have been the firſt work publiſhed that gave inquiſitive men any real light into the ſubjects which are therein examined.

Upon the death of Dr. John Meredith, provoſt of Eton, in Auguſt 1665, his majeſty king Charles II. unaſked and unſolicited, appointed Mr. Boyle for his ſucceſſor. This was certainly, all circumſtances conſidered, the fitteſt employment for him in the kingdom; yet, after mature deliberation, though contrary to the advice of his friends, he abſolutely declined it, becauſe he thought the duties of the employment might interfere with his ſtudies; he was unwilling to quit that courſe of life, which, by experience, he found ſo ſuitable to his temper and conſtitution; and, above all, he was unwilling to enter into holy orders, which, he was perſuaded, was neceſſary to qualify himſelf for it.

In 1666, Dr. John Wallis addreſſed to Mr. Boyle "An Hypotheſis about the Flux and Reflux of the Sea." The famous phyſician, Dr. Thomas Sydenham, dedicated to him, in the ſame year, his "Method of Curing Fevers, grounded upon his own Obſervations," a little piece written in Latin, and truly worthy of ſo great a man. Mr. Boyle likewiſe publiſhed, that year, his "Hydroſtatical Paradoxes, made out by new Experiments, for the moſt part phyſical and eaſy," which he printed at the requeſt of the Royal Society; thoſe experiments having been made, at their deſire, about two years before. He alſo publiſhed, that year, another celebrated treatiſe of his, intituled, "The Origin of Forms and Qualities, according to the Corpuſcular Philoſophy, illuſtrated by Experiments;" a treatiſe which did equal honour to the quickneſs of his wit,

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the depth of his judgment, and his indefatigable pains in ſearching after truth.

We muſt likewiſe obſerve, that, both in this, and in the former year, he communicated to the Royal Society ſeveral curious and excellent ſhort treatiſes of his own, upon a great variety of ſubjects, and others tranſmitted to him by his learned friends both at home and abroad, which, are printed and preſerved in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society.

It is very remarkable, that, in the warm controverſy raiſed in relation to that ſociety, Mr. Boyle eſcaped all cenſure, which is the more extraordinary, conſidering that Mr. Stubbe, who was the great antagoniſt of the learned Mr. Oldenburgh, the firſt ſecretary to that ſociety, was one who ſet no bounds to his rage, and ſeemed to make it a point to raiſe his reſentment in proportion as there wanted grounds for it. Yet even this choleric and furious writer had ſo high an eſteem for Mr. Boyle, that, at the very time he fell upon the ſociety in a manner ſo cenſurable, he failed not to write frequently to our author, in order to convince him, that how angry ſoever he might be with that body of men, yet he preſerved a juſt reſpect for his great learning and abilities, and a true ſenſe of the many favours which he had conferred upon him.

About this time our author reſolved to ſettle himſelf for life in London, and removed, for that purpoſe, to the houſe of his ſiſter, the lady Ranelagh, in Pall-mall, to the infinite benefit of the learned in general, and particularly to the advantage of the Royal Society, to whom he gave great and continual aſſiſtance. He had likewiſe his ſet hours for receiving ſuch as came, either to deſire his help, or to communicate to him any new diſcoveries in ſcience. Beſides which, he kept a very extenſive correſpondence with perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, and moſt famous for learning, in all parts of Europe

In 1669, he publiſhed his "Continuation of new Experiments,

periments, touching the Spring and Weight of the Air; to which is added, "A Diſcourſe of the Atmoſpheres of Conſiſtent Bodies;" and the ſame year he reviſed and made many additions to ſeveral of his former tracts, ſome of which were now tranſlated into Latin, in order to gratify the curious abroad, with whom Mr. Boyle ſtood in as high reputation, as with all the lovers of learning at home. In the ſucceeding year he publiſhed a book that occaſioned much ſpeculation, as it ſeemed to contain a vaſt treaſure of new knowledge, that had never been communicated to the world before, and this grounded upon actual experiments, and arguments juſtly drawn from them, inſtead of that notional and conjectural philoſophy, which, in the beginning of this century, had been ſo much in faſhion. The title of this treatiſe was, "Of the Coſmical Qualities of Things."

About this time, Dr. Peter de Moulin, the ſon of the famous French divine of the ſame name, who had travelled with Mr. Boyle's nephews, dedicated to him his "Collection of Latin Poems." But, in the midſt of his ſtudies, and other uſeful employments, he was attacked by a ſevere paralytic diſtemper; of which, though not without great difficulty, he got the better, by adhering ſtrictly to a proper regimen.

In 1671, he publiſhed "Conſiderations on the Uſefulneſs of Experimental and Natural Philoſophy, the Second Part;" as alſo, "A Collection of Tracts upon ſeveral uſeful and important Points of Practical Philoſophy;" both which works were received as new and valuable gifts to the learned world. In 1672, appeared his "Eſſay about the Origin and Virtue of Gems;" in which, according to his uſual cuſtom, he treated an old and beaten ſubject in a very new and uſeful manner; ſo that it may be truly ſaid, that he not only threw an additional light upon a very dark and difficult ſubject, but alſo pointed out the only certain method of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the nature and virtues (if any ſuch there be) of all kinds of precious ſtones.

ſtones. He publiſhed alſo, the ſame year, another "Collection of Tracts, touching the Relation between Flame and Air, and ſeveral other uſeful and curious Subjects;" beſides furniſhing in this, and in the former year, a great number of ſhort diſſertations, upon a vaſt variety of topics, addreſſed to the Royal Society, and inſerted in their Tranſactions.

In the year 1673, he publiſhed "Eſſays on the ſtrange Subtilty, great Efficacy, and determinate Nature of Effluvia; to which were added, Variety of Experiments on other Subjects." The ſame year, Anthony Le Grand, an eminent Carteſian philoſopher, dedicated to him his "Hiſtory of Nature," which he publiſhed in Latin: and, in this dedication, the author gives a large account of the great reputation which Mr. Boyle had acquired in foreign parts. In 1674, Mr. Boyle publiſhed "A Collection of Tracts on the Saltneſs of the Sea, the Moiſture of the Air, the natural and preter-natural State of Bodies;" to which he prefixed, "A Dialogue concerning Cold."

In the ſame year, he printed a piece that had been written near ten years before, intituled "The Excellency of Theology compared with Natural Philoſophy, as both are the Objects of Mens' Study; in an Epiſtolary Diſcourſe to a Friend." This treatiſe, in which are contained a multitude of curious and uſeful, as well as juſt and natural, obſervations, was written in the time of the great plague, when the author was forced to go from place to place in the country, and had little or no opportunity of conſulting his books. He alſo communicated to the world, the ſame year, another "Collection of Tracts, comprehending ſome Suſpicions about hidden Qualities of the Air, Animadverſions upon Mr. Hobbes's Problem about a Vacuum, and, a Diſcourſe of the cauſe of Attraction by Suction;" in which ſeveral pieces, as there are many new diſcoveries made, ſo ſeveral old errors and groundleſs notions are refuted and exploded.

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In 1675, he printed "Some Conſiderations about the Reconcileableneſs of Reaſon and Religion, by T. E. a layman;" to which was annexed, "A Diſcourſe about the Poſſibility of the Reſurrection, by Mr. Boyle." The reader will obſerve, that the former, as well as the latter, was of his writing, only he thought fit to mark it with the final letters of his name. Among other pieces that he this year communicated to the Royal Society, there were two papers, connected into one diſcourſe, that deſerve particular notice; the former was intiutled, "An experimental Diſcourſe of Quickſilver growing hot with Cold;" the other related to the ſame ſubject, both of them containing diſcoveries worthy of ſo great a man.

In 1676, Mr. Boyle publiſhed "Experiments and Notes about the Mechanical Origin of particular Qualities," in ſeveral diſcourſes on a great variety of ſubjects; and, amongſt the reſt, he treats very largely, and, according to his wonted method, very accurately, of electricity. He had been for many years a director of the Eaſt India company, and very uſeful in this capacity to that great body, more eſpecially in procuring their charter. The only return he expected for his labour, in this reſpect, was the engaging the company to come to ſome reſolution in favour of the propagation of the goſpel, by means of their flouriſhing factories in that part of the world; and, as a proof of his own inclination to contribute, as far as in him lay, for that purpoſe, he cauſed five hundred copies of the Goſpels and Acts of the Apoſtles, in the Malayan tongue, to be printed at Oxford, in 1677, and ſent abroad at his own expence, as appears from the dedication prefixed, by his friend Dr. Thomas Hyde, to that tranſlation which was publiſhed under his direction.

The ſame year a Miſcellaneous Collection of Mr. Boyle's works, in Latin, was printed at Geneva, but without his knowledge; of which there is a large account given in the Philoſophical Tranſactions. In 1678, he

he communicated to Mr. Hooke, afterwards Dr. Hooke, "A ſhort Memorial of ſome Obſervations made upon an artificial Subſtance that ſhines without any preceding Illuſtration," which that gentleman thought fit to make public. He publiſhed, in the ſame year, his "Hiſtorical Account of a Degradation of Gold, made by an Anti-Elixir." This made a very great noiſe both at home and abroad, and is looked upon as one of the moſt remarkable pieces that ever fell from his pen; the facts contained in which would have been eſteemed incredible, if they had fallen from the pen of any other writer.

In the year 1680, he obliged the world with the following tracts, viz. "The Aerial Noctiluca," and "A Proceſs of a factitious ſelf-ſhining Subſtance;" beſides which, he publiſhed alſo ſome ſmall diſcourſes upon different philoſophical ſubjects. On the 30th of November this year, the Royal Society, as a proof of their juſt ſenſe of his great worth, and of the conſtant and particular ſervices, which, through the courſe of many years, he had rendered to their ſociety, made choice of him for their preſident; but he being extremely, and, as himſelf ſays, peculiarly tender in point of oaths, declined the honour done him, by a letter addreſſed to Mr. Profeſſor Hooke, of Greſham-college. He was alſo, within the compaſs of this year, a conſiderable benefactor towards the publiſhing Dr. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation; as he very readily, was, on the like occaſion, to every performance calculated for the general uſe and benefit of mankind.

In 1681, he publiſhed his "Diſcourſe of Things above Reaſon;" and the ſame year he was engaged in endeavouring to promote the preaching and promulgation of the goſpel amongſt the Indians bordering upon New England. In 1682, came out his "New Experiments and Obſervations upon the Icy Noctiluca;" to which is added, "A Chymical Paradox, making it probable that their Principles are tranſmutable, ſo that,

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out of one of them, others may be produced." The ſame year he communicated to the public, "The Second Part of his Continuation of New Experiments touching the Spring and Weight of the Air, and a large Appendix, containing ſeveral other Diſcourſes."

In 1683, he publiſhed nothing but a ſhort letter to the reverend Dr. John Beale, in relation to the making freſh water out of ſalt, publiſhed at the requeſt of the patentees, who were embarked in Mr. Fitzgerald's project for that purpoſe, the propoſals for which were addreſſed to Mr. Boyle; and the author acknowledges therein the obligations he was under to him for his aſſiſtance.

In the ſucceeding year, 1684, he printed two very conſiderable works. The firſt was, "Memoirs for the Natural Hiſtory of Human Blood;" the ſecond, "Experiments and Conſiderations about the Poroſity of Bodies, divided into two Parts; the firſt relating to Animals, the ſecond to ſolid Bodies:" and his works being now grown to a very conſiderable bulk, the celebrated Dr. Ralph Cudworth, whoſe praiſe alone was ſufficient to eſtabliſh any man's title to fame, wrote to him in very preſſing terms, to make an intire collection of his ſeveral treatiſes, and to publiſh them in a body, and in the Latin tongue, in his own life-time, as well out of regard to his reputation, as to the general intereſt of mankind, and the peculiar ſatisfaction of the learned world.

In 1685, he obliged the world with the following tracts, "Short Memoirs for the Natural, Experimental Hiſtory of Mineral Waters, with Directions as to the ſeveral Methods of trying them, including abundance of new and uſeful Remarks, as well as ſeveral curious Experiments." "An Eſſay of the great Effects of languid and unheeded Motion; with an Appendix, containing an Experimental Diſcourſe of ſome hitherto little regarded Cauſes of the Inſalubrity and Salubrity of the Air, and its Effects;" than which none of his treatiſes

treatiſes were ever received with greater or more general applauſe. And a "Diſſertation on the Reconcileableneſs of Specific Medicines to the Corpuſcular Philoſophy; to which is added, A Diſcourſe of the Advantages attending the Uſe of Simple Medicines." To theſe Philoſophical, he added a moſt excellent Theological Diſcourſe, of the high Veneration Man's Intellect owes to God, particularly for his Wiſdom and Power; being a part of a much larger work, which he mentions, to prevent any exception being taken at the abrupt manner of its beginning.

In the beginning of the ſucceeding year, 1686, appeared his "Free Inquiry into the vulgarly received Notion of Nature;" a moſt important and uſeful piece, and which always will be admired and eſteemed by ſuch as have a true zeal for religion and intelligible philoſophy. In the month of June, the ſame year, his friend, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, afterwards biſhop of Sarum, tranſmitted to him from Holland his account of his travels through France, Switzerland, and Italy; which were afterwards publiſhed.

In 1687, a work which he had drawn up in his youth, intituled, "The Martyrdom of Theodora and Dydimia," came from the preſs to the hands of the public. In 1688, he obliged the world with a moſt curious and uſeful treatiſe, intituled, "A Diſquiſition into the final Cauſes of Natural Things: and whether, if at all, with what Caution a Naturaliſt ſhould admit them. To which is added, an Appendix about vitiated ſight."

He began now to find that his health, notwithſtanding all his care and caution, was greatly on the decline: and he perceived a decay of ſtrength, which put him upon deviſing every method that was poſſible for huſbanding his time, for the future, for the benefit of the learned world at large, without regard to particular bodies of men, or individuals.

It was in this view that he no longer communicated particular diſcourſes, or new diſcoveries to the Royal

Society, becauſe this could not be done without withdrawing his thoughts from taſks which he thought of ſtill greater and more general importance. It was the more ſteadily to attend to theſe, that he reſigned his poſt of governor of the corporation for propagating the goſpel in New England; and he went ſo far as to ſignify to the world, in a public advertiſement, that he could no longer receive viſits as uſual, except upon extraordinary occaſions, aſſigning for one reaſon, amongſt many others, that he wanted leiſure to put his papers in order, to ſupply the blanks he had left in many of his treatiſes, and to repair the deficiencies in others, occaſioned by the careleſſneſs of a ſervant, who had let a bottle of oil of vitriol fall upon them; that, as he had been uſeful to the public during the whole courſe of his life, ſo the vaſt collections he ſhould leave behind him might not prove uſeleſs after his deceaſe. He ordered, ſoon after, a board to be placed over his door, with an inſcription notifying when he did, or did not, receive viſits.

Among the other great works, which, by this means, he gained time to finiſh, their is great reaſon to believe, that one was, "A Collection of Elaborate Proceſſes in Chymiſtry;" concerning which he wrote a letter to a friend, which is ſtill extant; but the piece itſelf was never publiſhed, nor ſome other curious tracts relating to the ſame ſubject, found amongſt his papers; which have been conſidered as an irreparable loſs, from his well known ſkill in that ſcience, which he made his favourite ſtudy. It muſt not be concealed, however, that he believed in Alchymy: this appears from a converſation he held upon the ſubject with the famous aſtronomer, Dr. Halley, and likewiſe from his having obtained, in 1689, a repeal of the ſtatute of the 5th of Henry the Fourth, againſt the multiplying of gold and ſilver.

In 1690, he publiſhed "Medicina Hydroſtatica: or, Hydroſtatics applied to the Materia Medica: ſhewing how, by the Weight that divers bodies uſed in Phyſic have in Water, one may diſcover whether they be genuine

nuine or adulterate. To which is ſubjoined, a previous Hydroſtatical Way of eſtimating Ores." He informs us, in the poſtſcript of this treatiſe, that he had prepared materials ſufficient for a ſecond volume, which he promiſed, but it never appeared. He publiſhed, however, this year, another moſt excellent work, which bore the following title: "The Chriſtian Virtuoſo; ſhewing, that, by being addicted to Experimental Philoſophy, a man is rather aſſiſted than indiſpoſed to be a good Chriſtian. The firſt part. To which are ſubjoined. I. A Diſcourſe upon the Diſtinction that repreſents ſome Things as above Reaſon, but not contrary to Reaſon. II. The firſt Chapters of a Diſcourſe, intituled, Greatneſs of mind promoted by Chriſtianity." In the advertiſement prefixed to this work, he mentions "A Second Part of the Chriſtian Virtuoſo;" which he had begun, and which is actually publiſhed in the laſt edition of his works; that is to ſay, imperfect as he left it, with an appendix to the firſt part.

We are now come to the laſt of his works publiſhed in his life-time, which was in the ſpring of the year 1691, under this title: "Experimenta et Obſervationes Phyſicæ; wherein are briefly treated of ſeveral Subjects relating to Natural Philoſophy, in an experimental Way; to which is added, A ſmall Collection of Strange Reports." This is called, in the title-page, "The Firſt Part;" and amongſt his papers were found "The Second and Third Parts;" but they were never publiſhed.

Towards the middle of this year, Mr. Boyle began to feel ſuch an alteration in his health, as induced him to think of ſettling his affairs and accordingly, on the 18th of July, he ſigned and ſealed his laſt will, to which he afterwards added ſeveral codicils.

In the month of October following, his diſtempers increaſed; which might, perhaps, be owing to his tender concern for the tedious illneſs of his beloved ſiſter, the lady Ranelagh, with whom he had lived many years

in the greateſt harmony and friendſhip, and whoſe indiſpoſition brought her to the grave on the 23d of December following. She was, in all reſpects, a moſt accompliſhed and moſt extraordinary woman; ſo that her brother might very juſtly eſteem it one of the felicities of his life that he had ſuch a ſiſter, and, in her, ſo uſeful a friend, and ſo agreeable a companion.

He did not ſurvive her above a week; for, on the laſt day of the year 1691, he died, and was buried on the 7th of January following, at the upper end of the ſouth ſide of the chancel of St. Martin's in the Fields, in Weſtminſter, near the body of his ſiſter.

His funeral was decent, and as much without pomp as it was poſſible, conſidering the number of perſons of diſtinction who attended it, beſides his own numerous relations. His funeral-ſermon was preached by Dr. Burnet, the celebrated biſhop of Saliſbury.

As to the perſon of this great man, we are told, that he was tall but ſlender, and his countenance pale and emaciated. His conſtitution was ſo tender and delicate, that he had divers ſorts of cloaks to put on when he went abroad, according to the temperature of the air; and in this he governed himſelf by the thermometer. He eſcaped the ſmall pox; but, for almoſt forty years, he laboured under ſuch a feebleneſs of body, and ſuch lowneſs of ſtrength and ſpirits, that it is was aſtoniſhing how he could read, meditate, try experiments, and write as he did. He had likewiſe a weakneſs in his eyes, which made him very tender of them, and extremely apprehenſive of ſuch diſtempers as might affect them. He imagined alſo, that, if ſickneſs ſhould confine him to his bed, it might raiſe the pains of the ſtone to a degree which might be above his ſtrength to ſupport, ſo that he feared, leſt his laſt minutes ſhould prove too hard for him. This was the ground of all the caution and apprehenſion he was obſerved to live in; but, as to life itſelf, he had that juſt indifference to it which became ſo true a Chriſtian. However, his

ſight

ſight began not to grow dim above four hours before he died; and, when death came upon him, ſays biſhop Burnet, he had not been above three hours in bed before it made an end of him, with ſo little pain, that it was plain the light went out merely for want of oil to maintain the flame.

The ſimplicity of his diet was, in all appearance, that which preſerved him ſo long beyond all men's expectation. This he practiſed ſo ſtrictly, that, in a courſe of above thirty years, he neither ate nor drank to gratify the varieties of appetite, but merely to ſupport nature; and was ſo regular in it, that he never once tranſgreſſed the rule, meaſure, and kind, which were preſcribed for him.

Mr. Boyle was never married; but Mr. Evelyn has mentioned, from information communicated to him, that he courted the beautiful and ingenious daughter of Cary, earl of Monmouth; and that to this paſſion was owing his "Seraphic Love:" but it does not appear, from any of his writings, that he had ever entertained thoughts of this kind.

Having now followed him from his infancy to the grave, with that degree of wonder, reverence, and reſpect, which his knowledge, virtue, and piety, demand, we think it ſuperfluous to enter into a long delineation of his character. It is diſcernible, in every tranſaction of his life, that he was a great philoſopher, a good citizen, an example of benevolence, and a pious, charitable Chriſtian. Yet, in compliance with cuſtom, we will add a few words from the celebrated authors, to whoſe labours we have been indebted for the principal incidents of his life.

The extenſiveneſs of his knowledge ſurpaſſed every thing but his modeſty, and his deſire of communicating it; which appears equally in all his compoſitions; for in them we may diſcern his fear of offending, and his fear of concealing; and this, not from any timid apprehenſions of oppoſition, but from a benevolent inclina-

tion to inſtruct without ſeverity, and to part with wiſdom as freely as he had received it.

He had the juſteſt conception of truth that the human mind can frame; ſo cautious in examining and reporting, as to avoid, in the opinion of all true judges, the leaſt imputation of credulity; and, on the other hand, ſo well acquainted with the power of nature, that he never preſumed to ſet any limits thereto, or hindred any acceſſion of knowledge, by that ſort of incredulity which ſometimes attends ſuperior learning. In a word, conſidered in every light, as a man, as a philoſopher, as a Chriſtian, he came as near perfection as the defects of human nature would allow; and though he never ſought it, yet the moſt univerſal praiſe, both at home and abroad, waited on his labours living, and have conſtantly attended his memory to the preſent time.

*** *Authorities.* Dr. Birch's Life of Boyle, prefixed to his edition of his works, in 5 vols. folio, London, 1744. Biog. Britan. Burnet's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Boyle.

THE LIFE OF

JOHN DRYDEN.

[A. D. 1631, to 1701.]

THIS celebrated poet was the ſon of Eraſmus Dryden of Tickermiſh, in Northamptonſhire; and was born at Aldwincle, near Oundle, in 1631. He had his education in grammar-learning in Weſtminſter-ſchool, under the famous Dr. Buſby; and was from thence elected, in 1650, a ſcholar of Trinity-college in Cambridge.

We have no account of any extraordinary indications of genius given by this great poet while in his earlier days.

days. He was turned of thirty before he introduced any play upon the ſtage; and his firſt, called "The Wild Gallant," met with a very indifferent reception; which mortified him ſo much, that he had taken a reſolution never more to write for the ſtage; but his ſtrong paſſion for dramatic poetry happily got the better of his reſentment.

The year before he left the univerſity, he wrote a poem on the death of lord Haſtings; a performance (ſays ſome of his critics), very unworthy of himſelf, and of the aſtoniſhing genius he afterwards diſcovered."

That Mr. Dryden had, at this time, no fixed principles, either in religion or politics, is abundantly evident from his heroic ſtanzas on Oliver Cromwell, written after his funeral, in 1658; and his publiſhing, immediately upon the Reſtoration, "Aſtrea Redux, a Poem on the happy Reſtoration of Charles the Second;" and, in the ſame year, "A Panegyric to the King on his Coronation."

In 1662, he addreſſed a poem to the lord-chancellor Hyde, preſented on New Year's Day; and, the ſame year he publiſhed a ſatire on the Dutch. His next piece was his "Annus Mirabilis; or, The Year of Wonders, 1668;" an hiſtorical poem, which celebrated the duke of York's victory over the Dutch. In the ſame year, Mr. Dryden ſucceeded Sir William Davenant as poet-laureat, and was alſo made hiſtoriographer to his majeſty; and then he publiſhed his "Eſſay on Dramatic Poetry," addreſſed to Charles earl of Dorſet and Middleſex.

Mr. Dryden tells his patron, that the writing this eſſay ſerved as an amuſement to him in the country, when he was driven from town by the violence of the plague, which then raged in London; and he diverted himſelf with thinking on the theatres, as lovers do by ruminating on their abſent miſtreſſes. He there juſtifies the method of writing plays in verſe, but confeſſes that

that he had quitted the practice, becauſe he found it troubleſome and ſlow.

In the preface, we are informed, that the drift of this diſcourſe was, to vindicate the honour of the Engliſh writers from the cenſure of thoſe who unjuſtly prefer the French to them. Langbaine has injuriouſly treated Mr. Dryden on account of his dramatic performances, and charges him as a licentious plagiary. The truth is, our author, as a dramatiſt, is leſs eminent than in any other ſphere of poetry; but, with all his faults, he is, even in that reſpect, the moſt eminent of his time.

The critics have remarked, that, as to tragedy, he ſeldom touches the paſſions, but deals rather in pompous language, poetical flights, and deſcriptions; and too frequently makes his characters ſpeak better than they have occaſion, or ought to do, when their ſphere in the drama is conſidered. "And it is peculiar to Dryden (ſays Mr. Addiſon), to make his perſonages as wiſe, witty, elegant, and polite as himſelf."

That he could not ſo intimately affect the paſſions, is certain; for we find no play of his in which we are much diſpoſed to weep; and we are ſo enchanted with beautiful deſcriptions, and noble flights of fancy, that we forget the buſineſs of the piece, and are only attentive to the poet, while the characters ſleep. Mr. Gildon obſerves, in his laws of poetry, that, when it was recommended to Mr. Dryden to turn his thoughts to a tranſlation of Euripides, rather than of Homer, he confeſſed, that he had no reliſh for that poet, who was a great maſter of tragic ſimplicity. Mr. Gildon further obſerves, as a confirmation that Dryden's taſte for tragedy was not of the genuine ſort, that he conſtantly expreſſed great contempt for Otway, who is univerſally allowed to have ſucceeded very happily in affecting the tender paſſions.

The truth is, if a poet would affect the heart, he muſt not exceed nature too much, nor colour too high; diſtreſsful circumſtances, ſhort ſpeeches, and pathetic obſervations,

obſervations, never fail to move infinitely beyond the higheſt rant, or long declamations, in tragedy.

Mr. Dryden ſeems to have been ſenſible that he was not born to write comedy: "For (ſays he) I want that gaiety of humour which is required in it; my converſation is ſlow and dull, my humour ſaturnine and reſerved. In ſhort, I am none of thoſe who endeavour to break jeſts in company, and make repartees; ſo that thoſe who decry my comedies do me no injury, except it be in point of profit: reputation in them is the laſt thing to which I ſhall pretend."

This ingenuous confeſſion of inability, one would imagine, were ſufficient to ſilence the clamour of the critics againſt Mr. Dryden, in that particular; but, however true it may be, that Dryden did not ſucceed to any degree in comedy, I ſhall endeavour to ſupport my aſſertion, that, in tragedy, with all his faults, he is ſtill the moſt excellent of his time. The end of tragedy is to inſtruct the mind, as well as move the paſſions; and, where there are no refined ſentiments, the mind may be affected, but not improved; and, however prevalent the paſſion of grief may be over the heart of man, it is certain, that he may feel diſtreſs in the acuteſt manner, and not be much the wiſer for it.

The tragedies of Otway, Lee, and Southern, are irreſiſtibly moving; but yet they convey not ſuch ſublime ſentiments, and the language is far from being ſo poetical, as Dryden's. Now, if one dramatic poet writes to move the paſſions, and another to inchant and inſtruct, as inſtruction is of greater conſequence than being agitated, it follows naturally, that the latter is the moſt excellent writer, and poſſeſſes the greateſt genius.

But, perhaps, our poet would have written better in both kinds of the drama, had not the neceſſity of his circumſtances obliged him to comply with the popular taſte. He himſelf, in his dedication to the Spaniſh Fryar, inſinuates as much.

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" I remember (ſays he) ſome verſes of my own Maximin and Almanzor, which cry vengeance upon me for their extravagance. All that I can ſay for thoſe paſſages, which are, I hope, not many, is, that I knew they were bad when I wrote them. But I repent of them amongſt my ſins; and if any of their fellows intrude by chance into my preſent writings, I draw a veil over all theſe Delilahs of the theatre; and am reſolved I will ſettle myſelf no reputation upon the applauſe of fools. 'Tis not that I am mortified to all ambition; but I ſcorn as much to take it from half-witted judges, as I ſhould to raiſe an eſtate by cheating of bubbles.

" Neither do I diſcommend the lofty ſtyle in tragedy, which is naturally pompous and magnificent; but nothing is truly ſublime that is not juſt and proper." —— He ſays, in another place, " that his Spaniſh Fryar was given to the people, and that he never wrote any thing in the dramatic way, to pleaſe himſelf, but his All for Love."

In 1671, Mr, Dryden was publicly ridiculed on the ſtage, in the duke of Buckingham's comedy, called " The Rehearſal," under the character of Bays. This character, we are informed, in the " Key to the Rehearſal," was originally intended for Sir Robert Howard, under the name of Bilboa; but the repreſentation being put a ſtop to, by the breaking out of the plague in 1665, it was laid by for ſeveral years, and not exhibited on the ſtage till 1671; in which interval Mr. Dryden being advanced to the laurel, the noble author changed the name of his poet from Bilboa to Bays; and made great alterations in his play, in order to ridicule ſeveral dramatic performances that appeared ſince the firſt writing of it.

Thoſe of Mr. Dryden, which fell under his grace's laſh were, " The Wild Gallant," " Tyrannic Love," " The Conqueſt of Granada," " Marriage A-la Mode," and " Love in a Nunnery." Whatever was extravagant

gant, or too warmly expreſſed, or any way unnatural, the author has ridiculed by parody.

Mr. Dryden affected to deſpiſe the ſatire levelled at him in the Rehearſal, as appears from his dedication of the tranſlation of Juvenal and Perſius: where, ſpeaking of the many lampoons and libels that had been written againſt him, he ſays,

"I anſwered not to the Rehearſal; becauſe I knew the author ſat to himſelf when he drew the picture, and was the very Bays to his own farce; becauſe I alſo knew my betters were more concerned than I was in that ſatire; and, laſtly, becauſe Mr. Smith and Mr. Johnſon, the main pillars of it, were two ſuch languiſhing gentlemen in their converſation, that I could liken them to nothing but their own relations, thoſe noble characters of men of wit and pleaſure about town."

In 1679, came out "An Eſſay on Satire," ſaid to be written jointly by Mr. Dryden and the earl of Mulgrave. This piece, which was handed about in manuſcript, contained reflections on the ducheſs of Portſmouth and the earl of Rocheſter; and they, ſuſpecting Mr. Dryden to be the author, hired three ruffians to cudgel him in Will's Coffee-houſe, which if we are to believe Anthony Wood, the Oxford hiſtorian, they effected one evening.

But the reſentment of Rocheſter was carried to ſtill greater lengths; for, in order to hurt the character, and ſhake the intereſt of our poet, he recommended Crown, an obſcure man, to write a maſque for the court, which it was Dryden's province, as poet-laureat, to perform. Crown, in this, ſucceeded; but, ſoon after, when his play, called "The Conqueſt of Jeruſalem," met with ſuch extraordinary applauſe, Rocheſter, jealous of his new favourite, not only abandoned him, but commenced, from that moment, his enemy.

In 1680, came out a tranſlation of Ovid's Epiſtles, in Engliſh verſe, by ſeveral hands; two of which were tranſlated by Mr. Dryden, who alſo wrote the preface.

In

In the year following, our author publiſhed "Abſalom and Ahitophel;" in which he took a full revenge on the noble author of the Rehearſal, whom he expoſed to the utmoſt ridicule and contempt, under the character of Zimri.

In the ſame year that Abſalom and Ahitophel was publiſhed, "The Medal, a Satire," was likewiſe given to the public. This piece is aimed againſt ſedition, and was occaſioned by the ſtriking of a medal, on account of the indictment againſt the earl of Shafteſbury for high-treaſon, being found ignoramus by the grand jury, at the Old Bailey: for which the whig-party made great rejoicings, by ringing of bells, bon-fires, &c. in all parts of London. The poem is introduced in a very ſatirical epiſtle to the Whigs, in which the author ſays,

"I have one favour to deſire of you at parting, that, when you think of anſwering this poem, you would employ the ſame pens againſt it, who have combated, with ſo much ſucceſs, againſt Abſalom and Ahitophel; for, then you may aſſure yourſelves of a clear victory without the leaſt reply. Rail at me abundantly, and not break a cuſtom to do it with wit. By this method you will gain a conſiderable point; which is, wholly to wave the anſwer of my arguments. If God has not bleſſed you with the talent of rhyming, make uſe of my poor ſtock and welcome; let your verſes run upon my feet; and, for the utmoſt refuge of notorious block-heads, reduced to the laſt extremity of ſenſe, turn my own lines againſt me; and, in utter deſpair of my own ſatire, make me ſatiriſe myſelf."

The whole poem is a ſevere invective againſt the earl of Shafteſbury. Mr. Elkanah Settle wrote an anſwer to this poem, intituled, "The Medal Reverſed." However contemptible Settle was as a poet, yet ſuch was the prevalence of parties at that time, that, for ſome years, he was Dryden's rival on the ſtage.

In 1682, Mr. Dryden publiſhed, "Religio Laici; or, a

a Layman's Faith." This piece is intended as a defence of revealed religion, and the excellency and authority of the ſcriptures, as the only rule of faith and manners, againſt Deiſts, Papiſts, and Preſbyterians. He acquaints us in the Preface, that it was written for an ingenious young gentleman, his friend, upon his "Tranſlation of Father Simon's Critical Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament," and that the ſtyle of it was epiſtolary.

In 1684, he publiſhed a "Tranſlation of M. Maimbourg's Hiſtory of the League," in which he was employed by the command of king Charles II. on account of the plain parallel between the troubles of France and thoſe of Great Britain. Upon the death of Charles II. he wrote his "Threnodia Auguſtalis," a poem, ſacred to the happy memory of that prince. Soon after the acceſſion of James II. our author turned Roman Catholic, and, by this extraordinary ſtep, drew upon himſelf the juſt ridicule of the moſt celebrated wits of the time, particularly the celebrated Thomas, better known by the name of Tom Brown. In 1686, he wrote a "Defence of the Papers written by the late King, of bleſſed Memory," found in his ſtrong box.

Mr. Dryden, in the above mentioned piece, takes occaſion to vindicate the authority of the Catholic church, in decreeing matters of faith, upon this principle, that the church is more viſible than the ſcriptures, becauſe the ſcriptures are ſeen by the church; and, in order to abuſe the Reformation in England, he affirms, that it was erected on the foundation of luſt, ſacrilege, and uſurpation. Dr. Stillingfleet hereupon anſwered Mr. Dryden, and treated him with deſerved ſeverity.

In 1687, Mr. Dryden publiſhed his "Hind and Panther," a poem. This poem is a direct defence of the Romiſh church, in a dialogue between a Hind, which repreſents the church of Rome, and a Panther, which ſupports the character of the church of England. The firſt part of this poem conſiſts moſtly of general cha-

racters and narration; "which (says he) I have endeavoured to raise, and give it the majestic turn of heroic poetry. The second being matter of dispute, and chiefly concerning church authority, I was obliged to make as plain and perspicuous as possibly I could, yet not wholly neglecting the numbers, though I had not frequent occasion for the magnificence of verse. The third, which has more of the nature of domestic conversation, is, or ought to be, more free and familiar than the two former. There are in it two episodes, or fables, which are interwoven with the main design; so that they are properly parts of it, though they are also distinct stories of themselves. In both of these I have made use of the common places of satire, whether true or false, which are urged by the members of one church against another."

This poem was attacked by Mr. Charles Montague; afterwards earl of Halifax; and Mr. Matthew Prior, who joined in writing the Hind and Panther, transversed to the Country Mouse and City Mouse, London, 1687, 4to. In the preface to which, the author observes, "that Mr. Dryden's poem naturally falls into ridicule; and that in this burlesque, nothing is represented monstrous and unnatural, that is not equally so in the original." They afterwards remark, "That they have this comfort under the severity of Mr. Dryden's satire, to see his abilities equally lessened with his opinion of them; and that he could not be a fit champion against the Panther, till he had laid aside his judgment."

Mr. Dryden is supposed to have been engaged in translating M. Varillas's "History of Heresies," but to have dropped that design. This we learn from a passage in "Burnet's Reflections on the Ninth Book of the first Volume of M. Varillas's History."

In 1688, Mr. Dryden published "Britannia Rediviva;" a poem on the birth of the prince, who was afterwards known in the world by the title of "The Pretender."

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When the Revolution was happily accompliſhed, Mr. Dryden, having turned Papiſt, became diſqualified for holding his place, and was accordingly diſpoſſeſſed of it; and it was conferred on a man to whom he had a confirmed averſion. In conſequence whereof, he wrote a ſatire againſt him, called "Mac Flecknoe;" which is one of the ſevereſt and beſt written ſatires in our language.

Mr. Thomas Shadwell, the new laureat, ridiculed under the name of Mac Flecknoe, was a very indifferent poet of thoſe times; or, rather, as Mr. Dryden expreſſes it,

In proſe and verſe was own'd, without diſpute,
Thro' all the realms of nonſenſe, abſolute.

This poem furniſhed the hint to Mr. Pope to write his Dunciad; and it muſt be owned the latter has been more happy in the execution of his deſign, as having more leiſure for the performance; but, in Dryden's Mac Flecknoe, there are ſome lines ſo extremely pungent, that I am not quite certain if Pope has any where exceeded them.

In the year wherein he was deprived of the laurel, he publiſhed the life of St. Francis Xavier, tranſlated from the French of Father Dominic Bouhours. In 1693, came out a tranſlation of Juvenal and Perſius; in which the firſt, third, ſixth, tenth, and ſixteenth, ſatires of Juvenal, and Perſius intire, were done by Mr. Dryden; and he prefixed a long ingenious diſcourſe, by way of dedication, to the earl of Dorſet, who continued to be his patron, and allowed him an annuity out of his own eſtate, equal to the ſalary he had loſt as poet laureat.

In 1695, Mr. Dryden publiſhed a tranſlation in proſe of Du Freſnoy's Art of Painting, with a preface, containing a parallel between painting and poetry. Mr. Pope has addreſſed a copy of verſes to Mr. Jervas in praiſe of Dryden's tranſlation.

In 1697, his tranſlation of Virgil's works came out.

This tranſlation has paſſed through many editions, and is ſtill held in great repute.

Beſides the original pieces and tranſlations hitherto mentioned, Mr. Dryden wrote many others, publiſhed in ſix volumes of Miſcellanies, and in other collections. They conſiſt of tranſlations from the Greek and Latin poets; epiſtles to ſeveral perſons; prologues and epilogues to ſeveral plays; elegies, epitaphs, and ſongs. Among the original pieces, the Ode to St. Cecilia's Day is juſtly eſteemed one of the moſt elevated in any language. It is impoſſible for a poet to read this without being filled with that ſort of enthuſiaſm, which is peculiar to the inſpired tribe, and which Dryden largely felt when he compoſed it. The turn of the verſe is noble; the tranſitions ſurpriſing; the language and ſentiments juſt, natural, and heightened. We canot be too laviſh in praiſe of this ode; had Dryden never wrote any thing beſides, his name had been immortal.

His laſt work, publiſhed in 1698, was, his "Fables, Ancient and Modern, tranſlated into Verſe from Homer, Ovid, Boccace, and Chaucer." To this work, which is, perhaps, one of his moſt imperfect, is prefixed, by way of preface, a critical account of the authors from whom the fables are tranſlated.

As to our author's performances in proſe, beſides his dedications and prefaces, and controverſial writings, they conſiſt of the "Lives of Plutarch and Lucian," prefixed to the tranſlation of thoſe authors, by ſeveral hands; "The Life of Polybius," before the tranſlation of that hiſtorian by Sir Henry Sheers; and the preface to the dialogue concerning women, by William Walſh, Eſquire.

Mr. Dryden died on the firſt of May 1701, and was interred in Weſtminſter-abbey. He married lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter to the earl of Berkſhire. She ſurvived him eight years, four of which ſhe was a lunatic, being deprived of her ſenſes by a nervous fever in 1709.

Mr.

Mr. Dryden had three ſons by his lady, Charles, John, and Henry: they were all educated at Rome, where John died of a fever. He tranſlated the 14th ſatire of Juvenal, and was author of a comedy, intituled, "The Huſband his own Cuckold." Of Charles, the eldeſt ſon, ſome anecdotes are preſerved, particularly one relative to his father's funeral, which deſerves the reader's attention.

The day after Mr. Dryden's death, the dean of Weſtminſter ſent word to Mr. Dryden's widow, that he would make a preſent of the ground and all other abbey fees for the funeral. The lord Halifax likewiſe ſent to the lady Elizabeth, and to Mr. Charles Dryden, offering to defray the expences of the poet's funeral, and afterwards to beſtow 500l. on a monument in the abbey; which generous offer was accepted.

Accordingly, on the Sunday following, the company being aſſembled, the corpſe was put into a velvet hearſe, attended by eighteen mourning coaches. When they were juſt ready to move, lord Jefferies, ſon to the lord-chancellor Jefferies, with ſome of his rakiſh companions, riding by, aſked whoſe funeral it was; and, being told it was Mr. Dryden's, he proteſted he ſhould not be buried in that private manner; that he would himſelf, with the lady Elizabeth's leave, have the honour of the interment, and would beſtow 1000l. on a monument in the abbey for him.

This put a ſtop to the proceſſion; and the lord Jefferies, with ſeveral of the gentlemen who had alighted from their coaches, went up ſtairs to the lady, who was ſick in bed. His lordſhip repeated the purport of what he had ſaid below; but the lady Elizabeth refuſing her conſent, he fell on his knees, vowing never to riſe till his requeſt was granted. The lady, under a ſudden ſurpriſe, fainted away; and lord Jefferies pretending to have obtained her conſent, ordered the body to be carried to Mr. Ruſſel's an undertaker in Cheapſide, and to be left there till further orders. In the

mean time, the abbey was lighted up, the ground opened, the choir attending, and the biſhop waiting ſome hours to no purpoſe for the corpſe.

The next day, Mr. Charles Dryden waited on lord Halifax and the biſhop, and endeavoured to excuſe his mother by relating the truth.

Three days after, the undertaker having received no orders, waited on the lord Jefferies, who pretended it was a drunken frolic; that he remembered nothing of the matter, and he might do what he pleaſed with the body. Upon this the undertaker waited on the lady Elizabeth, who deſired a day's conſideration. Mr. Charles Dryden immediately wrote to the lord Jefferies, who returned for anſwer, that he knew nothing of the matter, and would be troubled no more about it. Mr. Dryden hereupon applied again to the lord Halifax and the biſhop of Rocheſter, who abſolutely refuſed to do any thing in the affair.

In this diſtreſs, Dr. Garth, who had been Mr. Dryden's intimate friend, ſent for the corpſe to the college of phyſicians, and propoſed a ſubſcription; which ſucceeding, about three weeks after Mr. Dryden's deceaſe, Dr. Garth pronounced a fine Latin oration over the body, which was conveyed from the college, attended by a numerous train of coaches, to Weſtminſter-abbey, but in very great diſorder. At laſt the corpſe arrived at the abbey, which was all unlighted. No organ played, no anthem ſung; only two of the boys preceded the corpſe, who ſung an ode of Horace, with each a ſmall candle in his hand.

When the funeral was over, Mr. Charles Dryden ſent a challenge to lord Jefferies, who refuſing to anſwer it, he ſent ſeveral others, and went often himſelf; but could neither get a letter delivered, nor admittance to ſpeak to him; which ſo incenſed him, that, finding his lordſhip refuſed to anſwer him like a gentleman, he reſolved to watch an opportunity, and brave him to fight, though with all the rules of honour; which, his

lordſhip

lordſhip hearing, quitted the town; and Charles Dryden never had an opportunity to meet him, though he ſought it to his death with the utmoſt application.

Mr. Dryden had no monument erected to him for ſeveral years; to which Mr. Pope alludes in his epitaph intended for Mr. Rowe, in this line,

Beneath a rude and nameleſs ſtone he lies,

in a note upon which, we are informed, that the tomb of Mr. Dryden was erected upon this hint, by Sheffield, duke of Buckingham; to which was originally intended this epitaph:

This Sheffield rais'd.—The ſacred duſt below
Was Dryden's once.—The reſt who does not know?

which was ſince changed into the plain inſcription now ſtanding in the poet's corner:

J. DRYDEN.

Natus Aug. 9. 1631.
Mortuus Maii 1. 1701.

Johannes Sheffield, dux Buckinghamienſis, fecit.

Charles Dryden, it is ſaid, was a youth of a very promiſing genius: he tranſlated the ſixth ſatire of Juvenal, and was the author of ſome pieces in proſe and verſe; but we have no particulars concerning them. His father, with all his underſtanding, believed in judicial aſtrology, and, having calculated the nativity of this child, foretold ſeveral hazards he would run of loſing his life at different ſtages of it; and that he queſtioned his ſurviving the 33d or 34th year. It ſeems the youth did meet with the narrow eſcapes predicted; and, after the father's death, being then about 30 years of age, he went to Rome, and was made uſher of the palace to pope Clement XI. but he returned to England in the 34th year of his age, and was drowned in the Thames at Windſor, in a ſwimming-match, in 1704.

The character of Mr. Dryden, both as a writer and as a man, has been drawn by men of great learning, integrity,

integrity, and candour, but in ſuch different lights, that it is impoſſible to make any of them a guide in forming a ſummary of it for our readers; beſides, it would involve us in critical diſſertations foreign to the deſign of this work, we ſhall therefore only give a liſt of his dramatic works; and refer the reader to the ſubjoined authorities, to which we have been indebted for the events of his life, in which are contained delineations of his character, and criticiſms on his literary abilities.

Beſides Mr. Dryden's numerous other performances, we find him the author of twenty-ſeven dramatic pieces, of which the following is an account:

1. The Wild Gallant, a Comedy, acted at the Theatre-royal, and printed in quarto, Lond. 1669.

2. The Indian Emperor; or the Conqueſt of Mexico by the Spaniard; acted with great applauſe, and written in verſe.

3. An Evening's Love; or the Mock Aſtrologer, a Comedy, acted at the Theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1671.—It is, for the moſt part, taken from Corneille's Feint Aſtrologue, Molieres Dépit Amoreux, and Precieuſes Ridicules.

4. Marriage A-la-mode, a Comedy, acted at the Theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1673, dedicated to the earl of Rocheſter.

5. Amboyna, a Tragedy, acted at the Theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1673. It is dedicated to the lord Clifford, of Chudleigh. The plot of this play is chiefly founded on hiſtory, giving an account of the cruelty of the Dutch towards our countrymen at Amboyna, A. D. 1618

6. The Miſtaken Huſband, a Comedy, acted at the Theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1675. Mr. Langbaine tells us, Mr. Dryden was not the author of this play, though it was adopted by him as an orphan, which might well deſerve the charity of a ſcene he beſtowed on it. It is in the nature of low comedy, or farce, and written on the model of Plautus's Menæchmi.

7. Aurenge-

7. Aurenge-zebe; or the Great Mogul, a Tragedy, dedicated to the earl of Mulgrave, and acted in 1676. The ſtory is related at large in Tavernier's Voyages to the Indies, vol. I. part 2. This play is written in heroic verſe.

8. The Tempeſt; or the Inchanted Iſland, a Comedy, acted at the duke of York's theatre, and printed in 4to. 1676. This is only an alteration of Shakeſpeare's Tempeſt by Sir William Davenant and Dryden. The new characters in it were chiefly the invention and writing of Sir William, as acknowledged by Mr. Dryden in his preface.

9. Feigned Innocence, or Sir Martin Mar-all, a Comedy, acted at the duke of York's theatre, and printed in 4to. 1678. The foundation of this is originally French, the greateſt part of the plot, and ſome of the language, being taken from Moliere's Etourdi.

10. The Aſſignation; or Love in a Nunnery, a Comedy, acted at the Theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1678, addreſſed to Sir Charles Sedley. This play, Mr. Langbaine tells us, was damned on the ſtage; or, as the author expreſſes it in the epiſtle dedicatory, ſucceeded ill in the repreſentation; but, whether the fault was in the play itſelf, or in the lameneſs of the action, or in the numbers of its enemies, who came reſolved to damn it, for the title, he will not pretend any more than the author to determine.

11. The State of Innocence; or the Fall of Man, an Opera, written in heroic verſe, and printed in 4to. 1678. It is dedicated to her royal highneſs the ducheſs of York, on whom the author paſſes the following extravagant compliment:

"Your perſon is ſo admirable, that it can ſcarcely receive any addition when it ſhall be glorified; and your ſoul, which ſhines through it, finds it of a ſubſtance ſo near her own, that ſhe will be pleaſed to paſs an age within it, and to be confined to ſuch a palace."

To this piece is prefixed an apology for heroic poetry and poetic licence. The ſubject is taken from Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, of which, it muſt be acknowledged, it is a poor imitation.

12. The Conqueſt of Granada by the Spaniards, in two Parts, two Tragi-comedies, acted at the Theatre-royal, and printed in 1678.—Theſe two plays are dedicated to the duke of York, and were received on the ſtage with great applauſe. The ſtory is to be found in Mariana's Hiſtory of Spain, b. xxv. chap. 18.

Theſe plays are written in rhyme. To the firſt is prefixed an eſſay on heroic plays; and to the ſecond, an eſſay on the dramatic poetry of the laſt age.

13. All for Love; or the World Well Loſt, a Tragedy, acted at the Theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. 1678. It is dedicated to the earl of Danby.

This is the only play of Mr. Dryden's which, he ſays, ever pleaſed himſelf; and he tells us, that he prefers the ſcene between Anthony and Ventidius, in the firſt act, to any thing he had written of this kind. It is full of fine ſentiments, and the moſt poetical and beautiful deſcriptions of any of his plays: the deſcription of Cleopatra in her barge exceeds any thing in poetry, except Shakeſpeare's, and his own St. Cecilia.

14. Tyrannic Love; or the Royal Martyr, a Tragedy, acted at the Theatre-royal in 1697. It is written in rhyme, and dedicated to the duke of Monmouth.

15. Troilus and Creſſida; or Truth found too late, a Tragedy, acted at the duke's theatre, and printed in 4to. 1670. It is dedicated to the earl of Sunderland, and has a preface prefixed concerning grounds of criticiſm in tragedy.—This play was originally Shakeſpeare's, and reviſed and altered by Dryden, who added ſeveral new ſcenes. The plot is taken from Chaucer's Troilus and Creſſida, which that poet tranſlated from the original ſtory, written in Latin verſe by Lollius, a Lombard.

16. Secret Love; or the Maiden Queen, a Tragi-comedy,

comedy, acted at the Theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. in 1697. The ſerious part of the plot is founded on the hiſtory of Cleobuline, queen of Corinth.

17. The Rival Ladies, a Tragi-comedy, acted at the Theatre-royal in 1672. It is dedicated to the earl of Orrery. The dedication is in the nature of a preface, in defence of Engliſh verſe or rhyme.

18. The Kind Keeper; or Mr. Limberham, a Comedy, acted at the duke's theatre, printed in 4to. in 1680. It is dedicated to John lord Vaughan. Mr. Langbaine ſays, "It ſo much expoſed the keepers about town, that all the old letchers were up in arms againſt it, and damned it the third night.".

19. The Spaniſh Fryar; or the Double Diſcovery, a Tragi-comedy, acted at the duke's theatre, and printed in 1681. It is dedicated to John lord Haughton. This is one of Mr. Dryden's beſt plays, and ſtill keeps poſſeſſion of the ſtage. It is ſaid, that he was afterwards ſo much concerned for having ridiculed the character of the Fryar, that it impaired his health. What effect bigotry, or the influence of prieſts, might have on him on this occaſion, we leave others to determine.

20. Duke of Guiſe, a Tragedy, acted in 1688. It was written by Dryden and Lee, and dedicated to Hyde, earl of Rocheſter.—This play gave great offence to the Whigs, and engaged ſeveral writers for and againſt it.

21. Albion and Albanius, an Opera, performed at the queen's theatre, in Dorſet-gardens, and printed in folio, 1685. The ſubject of it is wholly allegorical, and intended to expoſe lord Shafteſbury and his party.

22. Don Sebaſtian, King of Portugal, a Tragedy, acted in 1690, dedicated to the earl of Leiceſter.

23. King Arthur; or the Britiſh Worthy, a Tragedy, acted in 1691, dedicated to the marquis of Halifax.

24. Amphytrion; or the Two Socias, a Comedy, acted in 1691, dedicated to Sir Leveſon Gower, taken from Plautus and Moliere.

54. Cle-

54. Cleomenes, the Spartan Hero, a Tragedy, acted at the Theatre-royal, and printed in 4to. in 1692, dedicated to the earl of Rocheſter. There is prefixed to it the Life of Cleomenes, tranſlated from Plutarch by Mr. Creech.—This play was prohibited by the lord-chamberlain; but, upon examination, being found innocent of any deſign to ſatirize the government, it was ſuffered to be repreſented, and had great ſucceſs. In the preface, the author tells us, that a fooliſh objection had been raiſed againſt him by the ſparks for Cleomenes not accepting the favours of Caſſandra. "They (ſays he) would not have refuſed a fair lady. I grant they would not: but let them grant me, that they are no heroes."

26. Love Triumphant; or Nature will prevail, a Tragi-comedy, acted in 1694. It is dedicated to the earl of Shafteſbury, and is the laſt Mr. Dryden wrote, or intended for the theatre. It met but with indifferent ſucceſs, though, in many parts, the genius of that great man breaks out, eſpecially in the diſcovery of Alphonſo's ſucceſsful love, and in the catoſtrophe, which is extremely affecting.

*** *Authorities.* Wood's Athen. Oxon. Lord Lanſdown's Works, vol. I. Congreve's Dedication of Dryden's Works to the Duke of Newcaſtle. Biog. Britan.

THE LIFE OF

JOHN LOCKE.

[A. D. 1632, to 1704.]

JOHN LOCKE, the celebrated philoſopher, was born at Wrington in Somerſetſhire, in 1632.

During his infancy his education was conducted with paternal

paternal care and affection; but with much ſtrictneſs and ſeverity by his father, who, being bred to the law, was a ſteward, or court-keeper, to colonel Alexander Popham; and, upon the breaking-out of the civil wars, became a captain in the parliament's army.

The firſt part of his education he received at Weſtminſter-ſchool, where he remained till he was nineteen years of age, when he was removed to Oxford; and, being admitted of Chriſt-church, in 1651, became a ſtudent of that college, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an ingenious epigram upon Cromwell's peace with the Dutch in 1653.

Having taken, at the regular times, both his degrees in arts, he put himſelf upon the phyſic line; to which profeſſion he applied himſelf with great diligence, and practiſed therein a little at Oxford; but finding his conſtitution not able to bear the fatigue of much buſineſs, he forbore to puſh it; and being highly delighted with the philoſophy of Des Cartes, which then began to grow in vogue, he thence took a fancy to that ſtudy. We have advanced this on the ſole authority of Le Clerc, who, very poſſibly, might have it from our author's own mouth, being very intimate with him.

It appears likewiſe from the ſame reſpectable authority, that Mr. Locke found ſo little ſatisfaction in the method of ſtudy preſcribed to the ſtudents at that time, that he wiſhed his father had never ſent him to Oxford. Scholaſtic exerciſes of diſputation were then greatly in vogue at both univerſities, and the only philoſophy taught at Oxford was the Peripatetic, perplexed with obſcure terms, and ſtuffed with uſeleſs queſtions, calculated only to furniſh matter of contention, and to ſet the literary world in a flame. This part of univerſity education was ſeverely cenſured at the time by men of great eminence; and Mr. Locke conceived ſuch an utter averſion to it, that he could ſcarcely keep his temper in the company of profeſſed diſputants.

In the room of Ariſtotle's philoſophy, Mr. Locke

ſubſtituted ſeveral hypotheſes from the Carteſian, then called, "The New Philoſophy." It had indeed been for ſome time univerſally taught in Holland, and at Geneva, and had captivated many others, as well as Mr. Locke, with the charming variety and perſpicuity of the ſtyle in which the founder had dreſſed it up, and which was univerſally admired, even by thoſe who did not approve all his notions.

In 1664, he had an opportunity of going abroad, in quality of ſecretary to Sir William Swan, who was appointed envoy to the elector of Brandenburgh, and ſome other German princes.

He returned the year following to Oxford, where he continued to improve his knowledge in natural philoſophy and phyſic; and, particularly, in 1666, fell in with a ſcheme that had been lately ſet on foot by Dr. Plott, of keeping a regiſter of the air, in order to perfect the natural hiſtory of what the phyſicians call the Non-naturals. He printed this at the end of a poſthumous piece of Mr. Robert Boyle's, intituled, "A General Hiſtory of the Air," in 1692, 8vo. Our author calls his paper, "A Regiſter of the Changes of the Air obſerved at Oxford, by the Barometer, Thermometer, and Hygrometer, from June 23. 1660, to March 28. 1667."

He was thus employed when an accident brought him acquainted with Anthony Aſhley Cooper, then lord Aſhley, afterwards earl of Shafteſbury. His lordſhip having an abſceſs in his breaſt, occaſioned by a fall, was adviſed to drink the Aſtrop waters. In this deſign he wrote to a phyſician at Oxford, to procure ſome of theſe waters to be ready againſt his arrival.—That phyſician, being called away by other buſineſs, transferred his commiſſion to his friend Mr. Locke, who found himſelf obliged to wait upon his lordſhip the day after his arrival, to excuſe the diſappointment of not having the waters ready. Lord Aſhley, as his manner was, received him with great civility, declared himſelf well

well ſatisfied with his apology, and, being much pleaſed with his converſation, upon his riſing to take leave, detained him to ſupper, and engaged him to dinner the next day, and even to drink the waters (Mr. Locke having expreſſed ſome deſign of doing it ſhortly), that he might have the more of his company.

From this beginning, that lord became our philoſopher's patron; and took him into his houſe; and ſoon after followed his advice in opening the abſceſs in his breaſt. He would not ſuffer him to practiſe phyſic out of his own family, except among ſome particular freinds; and introduced him to ſeveral lords of his acquaintance, who ſhewed him extraordinary reſpect, and urged him to direct his application chiefly to the ſubject of politics.

Le Clerc tells us, that three or four of the noblemen who thus countenanced Mr. Locke, having met at lord Aſhley's, rather for amuſement than buſineſs, after ſome compliments, very little converſation had paſſed, when the butler brought in the cards. Mr. Locke looked on for ſome time while they were at play, and then taking out his pocket-book, began to write with great attention. One of the company obſerving this, aſked him what he was writing? "My lord (ſays he), I am endeavouring to profit, as far as I am capable, in your company; for, having waited with impatience for the honour of being in an aſſembly of the greateſt geniuſſes of the age, and having at length obtained this good fortune, I thought I could not do better than write down your converſation; and indeed I have ſet down the ſubſtance of what has been ſaid for this hour or two." He had no occaſion to read much of his dialogue; thoſe noble perſons ſaw the ridicule, and diverted themſelves with improving the jeſt. They preſently quitted their play, entered into a converſation more ſuitable to their characters, and ſpent the reſt of the day in that manner.

In 1668, he attended the counteſs of Northumberland

into France; but an unforeſeen accident obliged him, after a ſhort ſtay there, to return to England; where he continued to reſide with lord Aſhley, who having, jointly with ſome other lords, obtained a grant of Carolina, our author was employed to draw up the fundamental conſtitutions of that province; but the articles relative to religion and public worſhip, being drawn upon more liberal and enlarged principles of toleration, than were agreeable to the ſentiments of ſome of the narrow-minded clergy, they expreſſed their diſſatisfaction by cauſing an additional article to be inſerted; and yet for this clauſe, Mr. Locke has been ſince unjuſtly cenſured.

This alteration of his plan gave Mr. Locke a diſlike to the church of England, whoſe prieſts he found were poſſeſſed of a ſpirit of intolerance. And the freedom of his religious opinions, delivered in his writings afterwards, made the orthodox divines conſider him as one of the chiefs of the Latitudinarians.

In 1670, and the following year, he began to form the plan of his "Eſſay on Human Underſtanding," but was hindred from making any great progreſs in that work by other employments, which were found for him by his patron, who, in 1672, being raiſed to the poſt of lord-chancellor, did not forget to let his faithful friend ſhare in the fruits of his power, by appointing him ſecretary of the preſentations.

This place he held as long as lord Shafteſbury kept the great-ſeal; but that being taken from his lordſhip in November of the year following, Mr. Locke, to whom the earl had communicated his moſt ſecret affairs, fell into diſgrace together with him: he afterwards contributed his aſſiſtance to ſome pieces, which the earl procured to be publiſhed, with a view of exciting the nation to a juſt attention to the intereſts of liberty. However, his lordſhip being ſtill preſident at the board of trade, Mr. Locke was made ſecretary, an office which was worth 500l. per annum; but he did not

not hold it long, for the commiſſion was diſſolved in the year 1674.

He had all this time kept poſſeſſion of his ſtudent's place at Chriſt-church, whither he uſed frequently to reſort, as well for the conveniency of books, as alſo upon account of his health, the air of London not agreeing well with his conſtitution; and, having taken his degree of bachelor of phyſic in 1675, he went the ſame year to Montpelier, being apprehenſive of a conſumption.

At the ſame time, however, he likewiſe kept up an acquaintance with ſeveral of the faculty, and continued his ſtudies in the profeſſion; what his reputation therein was may be known from the teſtimony that is given of it by the celebrated Dr. Sydenham, who, in his book, intituled, "Obſervationes Medicæ, circa Morborum acutorum Hiſtoriam et Curationem," printed in 1676, writes thus:

"You know likewiſe how much my method has been approved of by a perſon who has examined it to the bottom, and who is our common friend: I mean Mr. John Locke, who, if we conſider his genius, and penetrating and exact judgment, or the ſtrictneſs of his morals, has ſcarcely any ſuperior, and few equals now living."

At Montpelier, Mr. Locke became acquainted with Thomas Herbert, Eſq. afterwards earl of Pembroke, to whom he communicated his deſign of writing his "Eſſay on Human Underſtanding," which now chiefly employed his thoughts. From Montpelier he went to Paris, where he contracted a friendſhip with Mr. Juſtel, the celebrated civilian, at whoſe houſe he then ſaw Mr. Guenelon, a celebrated phyſician at Amſterdam, who read anatomical lectures there with great reputation.

It was now alſo that the familiarity commenced betwixt him and Mr. Toignard, by whom he was favoured with a copy of his "Harmony of the Goſpels," when there were no more than five or ſix of them

complete. Upon the diſcovery of the Popiſh plot, the earl of Shafteſbury was again taken into favour at court, and made preſident of a new council, appointed by Charles II. in 1679.

This new turn occaſioned him to ſend for Mr. Locke; but his lordſhip, happening to be laid aſide again in leſs than half a year, had no opportunity of ſerving him in that poſt. Notwithſtanding this, he continued unalterably attached to his patron in all the traverſes of his fortune; and, in 1682, when that nobleman eſcaped a proſecution for high-treaſon, by flying into Holland, Mr. Locke followed him thither, and conveyed away with him ſeveral letters and writings without being ſearched.

He had not been a year in Holland, when he was accuſed at the Engliſh court of having written certain tracts againſt the government; and though another perſon was afterwards diſcovered to be the author, yet being obſerved to join in company with ſeveral Engliſh malecontents at the Hague, this conduct was communicated to our reſident there, and by him to the earl of Sunderland, then ſecretary of ſtate, who acquainting the king therewith, his majeſty ordered meaſures to be taken for expelling him from the college, and application to be made for that purpoſe to biſhop Fell, the dean. In obedience to this command, the neceſſary information was given by his lordſhip, who, at the ſame time wrote to Mr. Locke, to appear and anſwer for himſelf, on the firſt of January enſuing; but, immediately after, receiving an expreſs command to turn him out, he was obliged to comply therewith, and accordingly Mr. Locke was removed from his ſtudent's place in November 1684.

Biſhop Fell has been accuſed by ſome writers, particularly the learned Dr. Birch, in his "Life of Locke," of having exceeded his orders; but it appears from the teſtimony of Le Clerc, as well as from the original letters which paſſed between the biſhop and the ſecretary

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of ſtate upon the occaſion, that Fell was really Mr. Locke's friend, and that he delayed the expulſion till he received a royal mandate from the king, with which he thought himſelf obliged inſtantly to comply.

After this violent procedure againſt him in England, Mr. Locke thought it prudent to remain in Holland till the acceſſion of king James II. when William Penn, the famous quaker, the founder of Pennſylvania, procured the promiſe of a pardon for our author, whom he had known at Chriſt-church; but Mr. Locke declined the acceptance of that offer, alleging that he had no occaſion for a pardon, not having been guilty of any crime.

In May 1685, the Engliſh envoy at the Hague demanded him to be delivered up by the ſtates-general, upon ſuſpicion of his having been concerned in the duke of Monmouth's invaſion. This obliged him to lie concealed near twelve months, till it became ſufficiently known that he had no hand in that enterpriſe.

Towards the latter end of the year 1686, he appeared again in public, and in the following year he formed a weekly aſſembly at Amſterdam with Limborch, a famous remonſtrant divine, and Le Clerc, who were joined by ſome others, and they held conferences upon ſubjects of univerſal learning.

In 1689, Mr. Locke printed at Amſterdam, in Latin, his "Firſt Letter upon Toleration." It was tranſlated into Dutch and French the ſame year, and in 1690, being tranſlated from the Latin original into Engliſh, it was twice printed at London.

Mr. Locke returned to England ſoon after the Revolution, and immediately put in a claim to his ſtudent's place at Chriſt-church; but that ſociety rejected his pretenſions, as the proceedings in his deprivation were conformable to their ſtatutes.

However, he had an offer of being admitted a ſupernumerary ſtudent, which he did not think proper to accept. As he was looked upon to be a ſufferer for the

the principles of the Revolution, he might eaſily have obtained a very conſiderable poſt; but he contented himſelf with that of commiſſioner of appeals, worth about 200l. a-year, which was procured for him by the lord Mordaunt, afterwards earl of Monmouth, and then of Peterborough.

About the ſame time he was offered to go abroad in a public character, and it was left to his choice whether he would be envoy at the court of the emperor, that of the elector of Brandenburg, or any other, where he thought the air more ſuitable to him; but he waved all theſe on account of the ill ſtate of his health, which diſpoſed him gladly to accept another offer, that was made him by Sir Francis Maſham and his lady, of an apartment in their country-ſeat, at Oates, in Eſſex.—This ſituation proved, in all reſpects, ſo agreeable to him, that he ſpent a great part of the remainder of his life at it.

In 1690, he publiſhed his famous treatiſe on government, which is divided into two parts. In the former, the falſe principles of Sir Robert Filmer, and his followers, are detected and overthrown. The latter is an eſſay concerning the true original, extent, and end of civil government, and is one of the beſt treatiſes extant on the ſubject in any language.

The ſame year he publiſhed his celebrated "Eſſay on Human Underſtanding," in folio; nor was the year expired, when his ſecond Letter upon Toleration appeared, in anſwer to Mr. Jonas Proaſt, chaplain of All Soul's College, Oxford, who had attacked the firſt.

In 1691, Mr. Locke printed ſome "Conſiderations on the Conſequences of lowering of Intereſt, and raiſing the Value of the Money," in a letter ſent to a member of parliament.

He afterwards publiſhed ſome other ſmall pieces upon the ſame ſubject, and the miniſtry adviſed with him concerning the new coinage of the ſilver currency; when he ſtarted an expedient for ſupplying the neceſſi-

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ties of commerce, and the exigencies of the people during the re-coinage; which was approved and recommended by lord-chancellor Somers.

In 1692, he publiſhed a third letter upon toleration, which being replied to, about twelve years afterwards, by his old antagoniſt, Mr. Proaſt, he prepared a fourth letter, but did not live to finiſh it.

In 1693, he publiſhed his "Thoughts concerning Education," which was ſoon after tranſlated into French and Low Dutch.

In 1695, king William obſerving him to be very capable of ſerving the public, appointed him one of the commiſſioners of trade and plantations. By this means he became engaged in the immediate ſervice of the ſtate; and, with regard to that of the church, in order to promote the ſcheme which his majeſty had much at heart, of a comprehenſion with the diſſenters, he publiſhed, the ſame year, his treatiſe, intituled, "The Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity, as delivered in the Scriptures."

This piece was attacked the following year, by Mr. Edwards, in his Socinian Unmaſked; upon which Mr. Locke publiſhed two vindications of it; and he was ſcarcely diſengaged from this controverſy, before he entered into another on the following occaſion:

Some arguments in his "Eſſay on Human Underſtanding" having been made uſe of by Mr. Toland, in his Chriſtianity not Myſterious; and ſeveral treatiſes being publiſhed about the ſame time by the Unitarians, maintaining, that there was nothing in the Chriſtian religion but what was conformable to reaſon, a ſentiment which had been advanced by Mr. Locke; Dr. Stillingfleet, biſhop of Worceſter, publiſhed in 1697, "A Defence of the Doctrine of the Trinity;" wherein he cenſured ſome paſſages in the "Eſſay on Human Underſtanding," as tending to ſubvert the fundamental articles of Chriſtianity. An anſwer to this charge was immediately printed by Mr. Locke; to

to which the biſhop replied; and the controverſy was carried on in the following year, 1698, when it ended by the death of Dr. Stillingfleet.

It was generally admitted that Mr. Locke had greatly the advantage of the biſhop in this controverſy. An Iriſh prelate, in a letter to Mr. Molyneux, an intimate friend of Mr. Locke, expreſſes himſelf on this ſubject in the following manner: "I read Mr. Locke's letters to the biſhop of Worceſter with great ſatisfaction, and am wholly of your opinion that he has fairly laid the great biſhop on his back; but it is with ſo much gentleneſs, as if he were afraid, not only of hurting him, but even of ſpoiling his clothes. Indeed, I cannot tell which I moſt admire, the great civility and good manners in his book, or the force and clearneſs of his reaſonings."

This was the laſt time our author employed the preſs. The aſthma, to which he had been long ſubject, increaſing with his years, began now to ſubdue his conſtitution, and rendered him very infirm; and in 1700, he reſigned his ſeat at the board of trade, becauſe he could no longer bear the air of London on account of that diſorder.

From this time he continued altogether at Oates, in which agreeable retirement he employed the laſt years of his life intirely in the ſtudy of the Holy Scriptures. His ſtrength began to fail more remarkably than it had done at the entrance of the ſummer of the year 1703, a ſeaſon, which, in former years, had always reſtored him ſome degrees of ſtrength.

This made him ſo very ſenſible of his approaching diſſolution, that, though he neglected none of thoſe means which his ſkill in phyſic had taught him to prolong his life, yet this was done without calling in any other aſſiſtance. At length his legs began to ſwell, and that ſymptom daily increaſing, his ſtrength diminiſhed very viſibly. He had often before this ſpoken of his departure, and always with great compoſure: and now plainly

plainly diſcerning how ſhort a time he had to live, he prepared to quit the world.

As he was incapable for a conſiderable time of going to church, he thought proper to receive the ſacrament at home; and two of his friends communicated with him, as ſoon as the office was finiſhed, he told the miniſter that he was in the ſentiments of perfect charity towards all men, and of a ſincere union with the church of Chriſt, under whatever name diſtinguiſhed.

He lived ſome months after this; which time he ſpent in acts of piety and devotion; and, the day before his death, lady Maſham being alone with him, and ſitting by his bed-ſide, he exhorted her to regard this world only as a ſtate of preparation for a better; adding, that he had lived long enough, and thanked God for having paſſed his life ſo happily.

He had no ſleep that night; and reſolved to try to riſe the next morning, which he did; and, being carried into his ſtudy, he was placed in an eaſy chair, where he ſlept a conſiderable time, and ſeeming to be a little refreſhed, he would be dreſſed as he uſed to be; and then deſired the lady Maſham, who was reading the Pſalms low, while he was dreſſing, to read aloud. She did ſo; and he apeared very attentive, till, feeling the approach of death, he begged of her ladyſhip to break off, and in a few minutes expired, on the 28th of October 1704.

He was interred in the church of Oates, where there is a decent monument erected to his memory, with an inſcription in Latin, written by himſelf, containing all he thought proper to leave concerning his character; but a more particular character of him was firſt publiſhed by Mr. Peter Coſte, who had known him long, and, ſome few years before he died, had lived with him as an amanuenſis. This character was afterwards re-publiſhed by Mr. Des Maizeaux: and from this we ſhall give ſome extracts.

"Mr. Locke had great knowledge of the world, and of

of the buſineſs of it. He won people's eſteem by his probity: his wiſdom, his experience, his gentle and obliging manners, gained him the reſpect of his inferiors, the eſteem of his equals, the friendſhip and confidence of thoſe of the higheſt quality. He was at firſt pretty much diſpoſed to give advice where he thought it was wanted, but experience of the little effect it had, made him grow more reſerved. In converſation he was moſt inclined to the uſeful and ſerious turn; but, when occaſion naturally offered, he gave into the free and facetious with pleaſure, and was maſter of a great many entertaining ſtories, which he always introduced properly, and told naturally; nor was he any enemy to raillery, when delicate and innocent.

"He loved to talk with mechanics in their own way; and uſed to ſay, That the knowledge of the arts contained more true philoſophy than learned hypotheſes. By putting queſtions to artificers, he would ſometimes find out a ſecret in their art, not well underſtood by themſelves; and by that means give them views intirely new, which they put in practice to their profit.

"He was ſo far from affecting any airs of ſtudied gravity, that he would ſometimes divert himſelf with imitating it, in order to ridicule it with better ſucceſs. Upon theſe occaſions he always remembered this maxim of Rochefaucault, which he admired above all others, "That gravity is a myſtery of the body, in order to conceal the defects of the mind."

"One thing (continues Mr. Coſte) which thoſe who lived any time with Mr. Locke could not help obſerving in him, was, that he took delight in making uſe of his reaſon in every thing he did; and nothing that was attended with any uſefulneſs ſeemed unworthy of his care; ſo that we may ſay of him what was ſaid of queen Elizabeth, that he was no leſs capable of ſmall things than of great. He often uſed to ſay himſelf, That there was an art in every thing; and it was eaſy to be convinced of it, to ſee the manner in which he went about

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the moſt trifling thing he did, and always with ſome good reaſon."

Among the honours paid to our author's memory may be mentioned that of the late queen Caroline, who, on having erected a pavilion in honour of philoſophy, placed therein our author's buſt, on a level with Bacon, Newton, and Clarke, as the four prime Engliſh philoſophers.

In 1705, Mr. Locke's Paraphraſe and Notes on St. Paul's Epiſtles to the Galatians were publiſhed in 4to; which were ſoon followed by thoſe upon the Corinthians, Romans, and Epheſians, to which was prefixed, an eſſay for the underſtanding of St. Paul's Epiſtles, by conſulting St. Paul himſelf. In 1706, poſthumous works of Mr. Locke were publiſhed in one vol. 8vo. In 1708, ſome familiar letters between Mr. Locke and ſeveral of his friends were alſo publiſhed in 8vo.; and in 1720, Mr. Des Maizeaux publiſhed a collection of ſeveral pieces of Mr. Locke's, never printed before, in one vol. 8vo.

But all his works have ſince been publiſhed together, and ſeveral times re-printed in 3 vols. folio.

In 1781, Dr. Tucker, dean of Glouceſter, publiſhed a Treatiſe on Civil Government, the great deſign of which was to oppoſe Mr. Locke's work upon this ſubject, and to overturn his principles. He maintains, that the principles of Mr. Locke are "extremely dangerous "to the peace and happineſs of all ſociety." Dr. Tucker alſo ſays, that the writings of Mr. Locke, and ſome of the moſt eminent of his diſciples, "have laid a foundation "for ſuch diſturbances and diſſentions, ſuch mutual jea- "louſies and animoſities, as ages to come will not be abe "to ſettle or compoſe." In another place he alſo ſays, "Surely a more pernicious ſet of opinions than the "Lockian could hardly be broached by man;" and, ſpeaking of what he calls the paradoxes, which he ſuppoſes to attend the ſyſtem of Mr. Locke and his followers, he aſſerts, that "they render it one of the moſt miſ-

" chievous, as well as ridiculous ſchemes, that ever diſ-
" graced the reaſoning faculties of human nature."

In oppoſition to this heavy charge againſt Mr. Locke, Dr. Towers publiſhed, in 1782, in 8vo. " A Vindi-
" cation of the Political Principles of Mr. Locke, in
" Anſwer to the Objections of the Reverend Dr.
" Tucker, dean of Glouceſter;" in which he has proved, that Dr. Tucker has groſsly miſrepreſented the principles of Mr. Locke, and advanced poſitions that are totally indefenſible. Dr. Towers obſerves, that 'Mr. Locke's treatiſe on government was calculated 'to increaſe the liberty of mankind, and to place them 'in a ſituation of greater dignity and felicity, than had 'been afforded them by the various ſyſtems of tyranny 'and oppreſſion, which have taken place under the 'name of government, in the different ages and nations 'of the world. The great aim of dean Tucker's book 'ſeems to be, to ſupport ancient ſyſtems becauſe they 'are ſo, to furniſh arguments for perpetuating different 'kinds of oppreſſion, though not abſolute tyranny, and 'to diſcourage thoſe noble attempts after a more per-'fect ſyſtem of civil policy, which the extenſion of 'knowledge, and of ſcience, might give men juſt rea-'ſon to hope for, and to expect. Mr. Locke is a clear, 'rational, conſiſtent writer; but Dr. Tucker has taken 'abundant pains to involve him in darkneſs and obſcu-'rity; and to draw imaginary conſequences from his 'propoſitions, which cannot by any juſt reaſoning be de-'ducible from them, and of which Mr. Locke appears 'not to have had the moſt diſtant conception.'

Dr. Towers farther remarks, with reference to the general character of Mr. Locke, that 'He was render-'ed truly illuſtrious by his wiſdom and his virtue, by 'the diſintereſtedneſs and uprightneſs of his conduct, 'by his love of truth, and by his ardent attachment to 'the great intereſts of mankind. He analyſed the hu-'man mind, explained its operations, and illuminated 'the intellectual world by the ſagacity of his reſearches.

" He

'He examined into the foundation of civil government, 'traced it to its true ſource, and illuſtrated and enforced its genuine principles. He maintained the juſtice, 'the reaſonableneſs, and the neceſſity of religious toleration, with a clearneſs, a preciſion, and a force of 'argument, that had not been equalled by any preceding writer. He laboured to elucidate the Sacred 'Scriptures, to advance the intereſts of revelation and 'of virtue, to looſen the bands of tyranny, and to promote the cauſe of liberty, of juſtice, and of humanity. 'Such was the man, whoſe character the dean of Glouceſter has laboured to degrade, whoſe ſentiments he 'has miſrepreſented, and whoſe opinions he flatters 'himſelf that he has confuted. But theſe efforts are 'fruitleſs, and theſe imaginations are vain. The ſentiments of Mr. Locke are founded upon reaſon, truth, 'and juſtice; and his name will continue to be reverenced wherever learning, liberty, and virtue, ſhall be 'held in eſtimation.'

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. General Biog. Dict. Le Clerc's Bibliotheque Choiſie. Towers's Vindication of the Political Principles of Mr. Locke.

THE LIFE OF

DR. JOHN RADCLIFFE.

[A. D. 1650, to 1714.]

THIS eminent phyſician, whoſe name will be remembered with honour ſo long as the univerſity of Oxford ſubſiſts, as the founder of the well-known RADCLIFFEAN LIBRARY, was the ſon of George Radcliffe, a private country gentleman, and was born at Wakefield in Yorkſhire, in the year 1650. His father having but a ſmall eſtate, and being incumbered with

a numerous family, he did not intend to give any of his children a learned education; but ſome of the neighbouring gentry and clergy, obſerving his ſon John to have a very promiſing genius, perſuaded him to breed him a ſcholar. Accordingly, he was firſt ſent to the grammar-ſchool at Wakefield, whence he was removed to Univerſity-college, Oxford; there he took the degree of bachelor of arts; but no fellowſhip being vacant, he removed to Lincoln-college, of which he was elected a fellow in 1670. Having fixed upon the medical profeſſion, he was enabled by the income of his fellowſhip, and ſome further allowance from his mother, who was now become a widow, to proſecute the ſtudy of phyſic, and to go through the neceſſary courſes of botany, chymiſtry, and anatomy; in all which he is ſaid to have made a great progreſs.

In 1672, he took the degree of maſter of arts, having performed the preparatory exerciſes with uncommon applauſe. After this, in conformity to the academical ſtatutes, he immediately inrolled his name upon the phyſic line. It appears, however, that he did not much ſtudy the ancient medical authors, but preferred the more judicious of modern writers, and particularly Dr. Willis, a phyſician of the firſt reputation, and then in full practice at London, whoſe works he held in very high eſtimation.

In 1675, Mr. Radcliffe proceeded bachelor of phyſic; and, as this degree gave him a right to practiſe in the univerſity, he did not neglect to make uſe of that privilege. He ſoon acquired a very conſiderable degree of reputation as a ſucceſsful practitioner, though his method of treating his patients was very different from what was generally approved by the faculty. Two of the moſt eminent apothecaries in Oxford, therefore, did all they could to decry his mode of practice; and Dr. Luff and Dr. Gibbons endeavoured to circumvent him with his patients, and to depreciate him in his medical character; the firſt ſaying, "the cures he performed

were

were only gueſs-work;" and the laſt, who is ſaid to have been an excellent Grecian, by way of ſarcaſm, obſerved, "that it was a great pity his friends had not made a ſcholar of him." But Radcliffe made ſuch returns to theſe reflections on him, that his opponents were no gainers by their attacks.

It appears, however, that Radcliffe never was a hard ſtudent; but recommended himſelf more to his friends by his wit and vivacity, than by any diligent application to his books. He had little turn to a contemplative life; but his ſociable talents made him the delight of his companions; and the moſt eminent ſcholars in the univerſity were fond of his converſation. He had very few books of any kind; ſo few indeed that the learned Dr. Ralph Bathurſt, preſident of Trinity-college, who was fond of his company, when he one day viſited him at his chambers in the univerſity, aſked him, in a kind of ſurpriſe, "Where was his ſtudy?" Upon which Radcliffe, pointing to a few phials, a ſkeleton, and an herbal, anſwered, "Sir, this is Radcliffe's Library."

The reflections thrown out with a view to injure his reputation did not prevent his having a very great practice, which was attended with extraordinary ſucceſs. The ſmall-pox happened then to rage in and about Oxford, and proved fatal to great numbers; but of thoſe who applied to Radcliffe, he recovered ſo many by a judicious uſe of the cool regimen, in our day become the general practice, that it greatly extended his fame. But the remarkable cure of the lady of Sir Thomas Spencer, who lived about four miles from Oxford, ſet Radcliffe above the reach of all his competitors. That lady had been under the hands of the moſt eminent medical practitioners at Oxford for ſome time, without receiving any benefit from their advice, and without hopes of recovery, from a complication of diſtempers; till Mr. Dormer, who had married her ladyſhip's daughter, obtained her conſent to ſend for Mr. Radcliffe; which being accordingly done, his preſcriptions very happily

ſet her upon her legs again, in three weeks time, after ſhe had been in a languiſhing condition more than ſo many years; and reſtored a decayed conſtitution in ſuch a manner to its wonted vigour, that ſhe lived to a very great age.

Radcliffe ſtill continued to have ſome enemies in the univerſity, and, among others, Dr. Marſhall, the rector of Lincoln-college, who could not forgive him for ſome ſatirical remarks he had made on him; he therefore ſhewed his enmity to him, by oppoſing Radcliffe's application for a faculty-place in the college; which would have been a diſpenſation from entering into holy orders, which the ſtatutes required, if he kept his fellowſhip; and he therefore was obliged to quit his fellowſhip in the year 1677. However, after his reſignation, he was deſirous of keeping his old chambers, and reſiding in them as a commoner; but meeting with ſome ungenteel uſage on that account alſo from Dr. Marſhall, he thought fit to quit Lincoln-college, and to reſide elſewhere in the univerſity.

In 1682, he commenced doctor of phyſic; and his reputation increaſing with his ſucceſsful practice, he remained two years longer at the univerſity; where he took great pains to detect and expoſe all impoſitions on the weak and credulous by diſhoneſt practitioners. Among other ſpecies of quackery which were prevalent at this period, one was, that of the urinal-caſters, who pretended that they could as well cure people at a diſtance, as by perſonal attendance, of all kinds of human maladies, by a ſight of the water of the diſeaſed perſon; and that from this alone they could derive a ſufficient knowledge of the diſorder laboured under. A poor woman, who ſuppoſed this to be a proper method of applying for relief for her ſick huſband, happened to come to Dr. Radcliffe, with an urinal in her hand. She dropt a courteſy, and told him ſhe had heard of his great fame at Stanton, and that ſhe made bold to bring him a fee, by which ſhe hoped his worſhip would be

prevailed

prevailed with to tell her the diſtemper her huſband lay ſick of, and to preſcribe proper remedies for his relief. "Where is he?" cries the doctor: "Sick in bed four miles off," replies the woman. "And that's his water, no doubt," ſays the doctor. "Yes, and it pleaſe your worſhip," anſwers the woman. Being then aſked of what trade her huſband was, ſhe replied, that he was a ſhoe-maker. "Very well, miſtreſs," ſays Radcliffe, and taking the urinal, empties it into a chamber-pot, and then filling it with his own water, diſmiſſes her with the following words: "Take this with you home to your huſband, and if he will undertake to fit me with a pair of boots by the ſight of my water, I'll make no queſtion of preſcribing for his diſtemper by a ſight of his."

In 1684, having, by his practice in Oxford, and the counties adjacent, acquired a very conſiderable ſum of money, he removed to London, and ſettled in Bow-ſtreet, Covent-garden, where he was extremely followed for his advice, his fame having reached the capital before he came thither himſelf; and he grew into ſuch general repute, that there was ſcarcely any caſe held, worthy of a conſultation, to which Dr. Radcliffe was not called. So that he had not been a year in town before he got, by his practice, more than twenty guineas *per diem*, as his apothecary, Mr. Dandridge, who himſelf died worth 50,000l. by his means, has often declared. And he was not only in high eſteem for his medical abilities, but was alſo much admired for his wit and humour, and readineſs at repartee, which made his company much ſought after by perſons of the higheſt rank, whom he often treated with a degree of freedom that bordered upon rudeneſs.

In 1686, the princeſs Anne of Denmark appointed Dr. Radcliffe her principal phyſician. In 1688, when matters were carrying on towards the introduction of Popery, and all the court-influence was employed to gain new converts, Father Saunders, one of the court-chaplains

chaplains, and another Dominican, were commanded by king James II. to uſe their endeavours to bring Dr. Radcliffe over to their communion. They accordingly waited on him, and were very preſſing with him to ſave his ſoul, by embracing the Catholic religion, without which, they told him, he was to expect no leſs than eternal damnation in the world to come. Radcliffe heard what they had to ſay for ſome time, and then told them, "that he held himſelf obliged to his majeſty, for his charitable diſpoſitions to him, in ſending them to him on ſo good an account as the ſaving his ſoul, which he would endeavour to ſhew his acknowledgments of by his duty and loyalty: but if the king would be graciouſly pleaſed to let him jog on in the way he had been bred up in during this life, he would run the riſk of incurring the penalties they threatened him with in that which was to come."

Some other attempts were made to induce him to change his religion; but theſe proving equally unſucceſsful, his Roman Catholic friends gave up the point.

In 1687, finding himſelf in very affluent circumſtances, he thought proper to pay his firſt tribute of gratitude to Univerſity-college, into which he was firſt admitted, by making them a preſent of a window of the eſteemed old painted glaſs, which he cauſed to be put up over the altar of the chapel at his own expence. It is a very fine piece, repreſenting the Nativity of Chriſt.

In 1688, when prince George of Denmark joined the prince of Orange, and the princeſs Anne, his conſort, retired to Nottingham, the doctor was preſſed by biſhop Compton to accompany her highneſs as her phyſician, ſhe being then pregnant; but Radcliffe not chuſing to declare himſelf thus openly in favour of the public meaſures then in agitation, and, in fact, not wiſhing well to the friends of civil liberty, artfully declined it, alleging the neceſſity of attending his numerous patients.

At

At the Revolution, Dr. Bidloo, the celebrated Dutch anatomiſt, came over with king William as his chief phyſician; and it was ſuppoſed, that this would have cauſed Dr. Radcliffe to loſe much of his practice among the great. But this was not the caſe, for his patients increaſed upon his hands, by the means of that very rival, who, it was ſuppoſed would ingroſs them. For Dr. Bidloo, though otherwiſe an expert practitioner, is ſaid not to have been ſo happy in his conjectures concerning diſeaſes as Dr. Radcliffe; and often, by miſtaking the nature of an Engliſh conſtitution, ſubjected thoſe who adviſed with him to the greateſt hazards: ſo that the reputation of Radcliffe daily increaſed. And he got the ſtart of all his competitors to ſuch a degree, that even his majeſty's foreign attendants, Mr. Bentinck, afterwards earl of Portland, and Mr. Zuleſtein, afterwards earl of Rochford, applied to him in caſes of neceſſity, wherein he always diſplayed his ſkill to the greateſt degree; the firſt being cured by him of a violent diarrhœa, which had brought that great favourite almoſt to the point of death; and the laſt, who was very corpulent, of a lethargy, which had been attempted by others in vain. The recovery of two perſons ſo dear to the king could not but excite his majeſty's attention; and, accordingly, he not only ordered Dr. Radcliffe five hundred guineas out of the privy purſe, but made him an offer of being one of his majeſty's phyſicians, with a ſalary of 200l. per annum more than any other. He accepted the preſent, but declined the poſt; one reaſon for which ſeems to have been, that Radcliffe, in his political principles, favoured the Jacobites, and conſidered the government as in an unſettled ſtate. He is ſaid alſo to have been of opinion, that he ſhould get more by being occaſionally employed by his majeſty, than by a fixed ſalary as his regular phyſician. And in this he appears not to have been miſtaken; for as king William had but an infirm conſtitution, and was ſubject to diſorders from a flux of rheum, and an aſthma,

aſthma, Dr. Radcliffe, who was particularly diſtinguiſhed by his ſkill in the laſt mentioned diſtemper, was very often called upon for his aſſiſtance; ſo that we are aſſured he was more than once heard to declare, "That one year with another, for the firſt eleven years of king William's reign, he cleared more than ſix hundred guineas for his bare attendance on his majeſty's perſon, excluſive of his great officers."

In 1691, William duke of Glouceſter being taken violently ill with fainting-fits, and ſo exceedingly ill that the phyſicians deſpaired of his life, Dr. Radcliffe, who was then at Epſom, being ſent for by an expreſs, came up to town, and attended his highneſs, whom he ſo perfectly reſtored, that queen Mary ordered her chamberlain, on that account, to make Dr. Radcliffe a preſent of one thouſand guineas.

In 1692, our phyſician met with a very conſiderable loſs. Among others, he had contracted an acquaintance with Mr. Betterton; and this eminent tragedian, by the ſolicitation of a friend, had depoſited two thouſand pounds, or, as others ſay, eight thouſand, as a venture in an interloper that was about to ſet ſail for the Eaſt Indies; and having a proſpect of a very good return, he communicated the affair to Dr. Radcliffe, who, agreeably to his propoſal, very readily laid down 5000l. The ſhip was ſucceſsful in the outward-bound paſſage; but having, to avoid the French privateers in her return home, firſt put into Ireland, and then finding no convoy ready, ſet out for England without one, ſhe was taken by the Marquis de Neſmond, with all her rich cargo, which amounted to more than 120,000l. This loſs, though an irreparable one to poor Betterton, was not much regarded by Radcliffe: for, when the news of this diſaſter was brought him to the Bull-tavern, in Clare-market, where he was drinking with ſeveral perſons of rank, who condoled with him on the occaſion, he, with a ſmiling countenance, and without baulking his glaſs, deſired them to go on with their toaſting

toaſting and merriment, ſaying, "he had no more to do, but to go up two hundred and fifty pair of ſtairs to make himſelf whole again."

In 1693, Radcliffe, who, till then, had expreſſed the greateſt averſion to matrimony, was, by the ſolicitations of his friends, induced to think of altering his condition: and the daughter of a certain wealthy citizen was pitched upon for that end. The parents of the lady, who was about 24 years of age, and their only child, very readily gave their conſent to the match, propoſing to give 15,000l. down, and the reſidue of their eſtate after their deceaſe. Accordingly, viſits were made, and the match ſeemed to be in great forwardneſs, when an unexpected ſtop was put to it, by Dr. Radcliffe's diſcovering that his miſtreſs was with child. Upon which, without further ceremony, he wrote the following letter to her father:

"*Bow-ſtreet, Covent-garden, May* 19. 1693.

"SIR,

"THE honour of being allied to ſo good and wealthy a perſon as Mr. S——d, has puſhed me upon a diſcovery that may be fatal to your quiet, and your daughter's reputation, if not timely prevented. Mrs. Mary is a very deſerving gentlewoman; but you muſt pardon me, if I think her by no means fit to be my wife, ſince ſhe is another man's already, or ought to be. In a word, ſhe is no better, and no worſe, than actually quick with child, which makes it neceſſary, that ſhe be diſpoſed of to him that has the beſt claim to her affections. No doubt but you have power enough over her, to bring her to confeſſion, which is by no means the part of a phyſician. As for my part, I ſhall wiſh you much joy of a new ſon-in-law when known, ſince I am by no means qualified to be ſo near of kin. Hanging and marrying I find, go by deſtiny; and I might have been guilty of the firſt, had I not ſo very narrowly eſcaped the laſt. My beſt ſervice to your daughter, whom I can be of little uſe to as a phyſician,

and

and of much leſs in the quality of a ſuitor. Her beſt way is to adviſe with a midwife for her ſafe delivery; and the perſon who has converſed with her, after the manner of women, for an humble ſervant. The daughter of ſo wealthy a gentleman as Mr. S——d can never want a huſband; therefore the ſooner you beſtow her, the better, that the young *Hans en Kelder* may be born in wedlock, and have the right of inheritance to ſo large a patrimony. You'll excuſe me for being ſo very free with you, for though I cannot have the honour to be your ſon-in-law, I ſhall ever take pride in being among the number of your friends; who am,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

JOHN RADCLIFFE."

It appeared, upon a thorough examination into this affair, that the lady was pregnant by the book-keeper to her father, who was an eminent merchant; and the old gentleman, being willing to make the beſt of the matter that it would bear, cauſed them to be privately married at the Fleet-chapel as expeditiouſly as poſſible. And the merchant had the ſatisfaction, before his death, to ſee his ſon-in-law, to whom he had made over his buſineſs, in a very thriving way, he having increaſed 5000l. which he gave him with his daughter, to more than 30,000 l. and being father to a numerous and beautiful iſſue, to participate an eſtate valued at 100,000l. which the old gentleman left amongſt them at his deceaſe.

This failure in Radcliffe's matrimonial ſcheme put him ſo much out of humour with the ſex, that he determined to make no future attempt of the ſame kind; and his diſlike againſt the ladies aroſe to ſuch a height, that he often declared, "he wiſhed for an act of parliament, whereby nurſes only ſhould be intitled to preſcribe for them."

In 1694, queen Mary was ſeized with the ſmall-pox, which

which the court phyſicians not being able to raiſe, Dr. Radcliffe was ſent for by the council. Upon peruſing the recipes, he told them, without ſeeing her majeſty, that "ſhe was a dead woman; for it was impoſſible to do any good in her caſe, where remedies had been given that were ſo contrary to the nature of the diſtemper; yet he would endeavour to do all that lay in him to give her ſome eaſe." Accordingly, the puſtules began to fill, by a cordial julap he preſcribed to her majeſty, which gave ſome faint hopes of her recovery; but theſe ſoon vaniſhed; for queen Mary died on the 28th of December 1694.

Some time after this, Dr. Radcliffe, who till then had kept himſelf in the good graces of the princeſs Anne of Denmark, afterwards queen Anne, loſt her favour by the uncourtlineſs of his behaviour, and his too great attachment to the bottle. Her highneſs, being indiſpoſed, had given orders that he ſhould be ſent for; in anſwer to which, he made a promiſe of coming to St. James's ſoon after; but as he did not make his appearance there, that meſſage was backed by another, importing, that ſhe was extremely ill, and deſcribing after what manner ſhe was ſeized. At which Radcliffe ſwore by his Maker, 'that her highneſs's diſtemper was nothing but the vapours, and that ſhe was in as good a ſtate of health as any woman breathing, could ſhe but give into the belief of it.' But on his going to wait on the princeſs not long after, he found that his freedom with her highneſs had been highly reſented; for, offering to go into the preſence, he was ſtopt by an officer in the anti-chamber, and told, 'that the princeſs had no further occaſion for the ſervices of a phyſician, who would not obey her orders; and that ſhe had made choice of Dr. Gibbons to ſucceed him in the care of her health.' Radcliffe, who had but juſt quitted the tavern, returned again to his companions, and acquainted them with what had happened; ſaying, "that Nurſe Gibbons had gotten a new nurſery, which he by no means envied

him the poſſeſſion of, ſince his capacity was only equal to the ailments of a patient, which had no other exiſtence than in the imagination, and could reach no farther than the not putting thoſe out of a good ſtate of health, who were already in the enjoyment of it.

But though Dr. Radcliffe loſt the favour of the princeſs Anne, he ſtill continued to be in great eſteem with king William, who had a more than ordinary occaſion to ſhew it in the campaign of 1695, which was cloſed by the taking of Namur. The earl of Albemarle, who then had a command in the army, was taken ill of a fever in the camp; upon which the king, who intereſted himſelf very much in that nobleman's life, having but little confidence in the phyſicians that attended his perſon on the field, ſent for Dr. Radcliffe from England. He went accordingly, and reſtored the earl in a week's time to his former health, after he had been reduced to the laſt extremity by an unintermitting ſickneſs, under which he had languiſhed near two months. The king was ſo well pleaſed with his ſucceſs, that he gave him 1200l. for his ſervice on this occaſion; and lord Albemarle alſo preſented him with a diamond ring, and 400 guineas. His majeſty likewiſe made him an offer of a baronet's patent, which he declined, as likely to be of no uſe to him, as having no direct deſcendents, and no thoughts of marrying.

About this time, Dr. Edward Hannes, afterwards Sir Edward, came from Oxford to ſettle in London, and in a little time became a principal at court, and was an eminent rival to Radcliffe. This gentleman, who was an excellent ſcholar, and well verſed in the knowledge of chymiſtry and anatomy, and excelled all the competitors he had left at the univerſity, at his firſt arrival in town, ſet up a very ſpruce equipage: but finding himſelf not ſo ſucceſsful as he wiſhed, he bethought himſelf of a ſtratagem; and to get into repute ordered his footman to ſtop moſt of the gentlemens chariots, and inquire if they belonged to Dr. Hannes, as if he had

been

been wanted to attend a patient. Accordingly, the fellow, in purſuance of his orders, ran from Whitehall to the Exchange, putting his queſtions about his maſter to almoſt every coach he met, and at laſt entered Garraway's Coffee-houſe, and made the projected inquiry there. Upon this, Dr. Radcliffe, who was uſually at this coffee-houſe about Exchange-time, and was then planted at a table with ſeveral apothecaries and ſurgeons, who flocked about him, cried out, that Dr. Hannes was not there, and deſired to know who wanted him. The fellow's reply was, ſuch and ſuch a lord; upon which Radcliffe took him up with this dry rebuke, 'No, no, friend, you are miſtaken, the doctor wants thoſe lords.' However, Dr. Hannes's merit ſoon procured him great buſineſs and deſerved reputation.

In 1697, after king William's return from Loo, where he had ratified the treaty of peace made at Ryſwick, his majeſty found himſelf very much indiſpoſed at his palace at Kenſington, and as uſual, after his phyſicians in ordinary had given their opinions, would have Dr. Radcliffe's advice. When he was admitted, the king was reading Sir Roger L'Eſtrange's new verſion of Æſop's Fables; and told him, that he had once more ſent for him to try the effects of his great ſkill, notwithſtanding he had been told by his body phyſicians, who were not ſenſible of his inward decay, that he might yet live many years, and would very ſpeedily recover. Upon which the doctor, having put ſome interrogatories to him, aſked leave of his majeſty to turn to a fable in the book before him, which would let him know how he had been treated by his phyſicians. Accordingly, he read to the king as follows: "Pray Sir, how do you find yourſelf? ſays the doctor to his patient. Why truly, ſays the patient, I have had a moſt violent ſweat. O! the beſt ſign in the world, quoth the doctor. And then, in a little while, he is at it again: Pray how do you find your body? Alas! ſays the other, I have juſt now a terrible fit of horror and ſhaking upon me. Why this is all as it ſhould be,

ſays the phyſician; it ſhews a mighty ſtrength of nature; and then he comes over him with the ſame queſtion again. Why I am ſwelled, ſays the other, as if I had a dropſy. Beſt of all, quoth the doctor, and goes his way. Soon after this comes one of the ſick man's friends to him, with the ſame queſtion, how he found himſelf; Why, truly, ſo well (ſaid he) that I am even ready to die, of I do not know how many good ſigns and tokens."—'May it pleaſe your majeſty (ſaid Radcliffe), yours and the ſick man's caſe in the fable is the very ſame; you are buoyed up with hopes that your malady will ſoon be driven away, by perſons that are not appriſed of means to do it, and know not the true cauſe of your ailment. But I muſt be plain with you, and tell you, that in all probability, if your majeſty will adhere to my preſcriptions, it may be in my power to lengthen out your life for three or four years, but beyond that time nothing in phyſic can protract it; for the juices of your ſtomach are all vitiated; your whole maſs of blood is corrupted, and your nutriment, for the moſt part, turns to water. However, if your majeſty will forbear making long viſits to the earl of Bradford, (where it is ſaid the king was apt to drink freely), I'll try what can be done to make you live eaſily; though I cannot make you live longer than I have told you.' Having ſaid this, he wrote a preſcription for his majeſty, which was ſo ſucceſsful, as not only to enable him to make a progreſs into the weſtern parts of his kingdom, but to go out of it, and divert himſelf at his palace of Loo, in Holland.

In 1699, while king William was abroad, the duke of Glouceſter was taken ill on his birth-day at Windſor, where he had over-heated himſelf with dancing. Whatever was really his highneſs's diſtemper, the phyſicians who attended him are ſaid to have judged it to be the ſmall-pox, and to have preſcribed accordingly, but without ſucceſs. The whole court was alarmed at this affair, and the princeſs of Denmark, notwithſtanding her

her reſentment of Dr. Radcliffe's behaviour to her, was prevailed upon by the counteſs of Marlborough and lady Fretchville to ſend for him. Upon the firſt ſight of the royal youth, Radcliffe gave it as his opinion, that there was no poſſibility of recovering him; and it is even ſaid, that he mentioned the very hour on which he would die the next day, and that he died at that time accordingly. However, with great difficulty, Radcliffe was prevailed on to hold a conſultation with the two phyſicians who had attended the young prince; but he could not refrain from the bittereſt invectives againſt them on the occaſion.

At the cloſe of the year 1701, king William, on his return from Holland, finding himſelf much out of order, ſent for Dr. Radcliffe to attend him at Kenſington. After the neceſſary queſtions had been put by the phyſician to the royal patient, the king, ſhewing his legs, which were much ſwelled, while the reſt of his body was greatly emaciated; "Doctor (ſaid he), what think you of theſe?" "Why truly (replied Radcliffe), I would not have your majeſty's two legs for your three kingdoms." This blunt anſwer, though the king ſeemed to take no notice of it, is ſaid to have given him ſo much offence, that he never ſent for Radcliffe afterwards, though he continued to make uſe of his diet drinks, till within three days before his death. And it is obſerved, by the writers of Radcliffe's life, that the king's death happened much about the time which the doctor had calculated; and which the king had frequently ſaid to the earl of Albemarle would come to paſs in verification of Radcliffe's prediction.

Upon the acceſſion of queen Anne to the throne, the earl of Godolphin, who had a great regard for Radcliffe, endeavoured to get him appointed principal phyſician to the queen; but her majeſty could not be prevailed upon to conſent to this, ſaying, "that Radcliffe would ſend her word again, that her ailment was nothing but the vapours." However, in all caſes of emergency, he

was continually adviſed with, and was paid large ſums for his private preſcriptions for the queen.

In 1703, the marquis of Blandford, only ſon to the duke of Marlborough, was taken ill of the ſmall-pox at Cambridge, where he was ſent to proſecute his ſtudies. Radcliffe was deſired to go down to the univerſity to attend him; but as he had the marchioneſs of Worceſter, and ſeveral other perſons of quality, then under his hands, who ſtood in need of his daily viſits, he declined going to Cambridge, but ſent down preſcriptions for the young marquis, and directions how he ſhould be treated. It was his practice to give his patients who were ill of that diſeaſe, as much air as could be well allowed them, and to ſet open their chamber windows, inſtead of ſtifling them, in the ſummer ſeaſon; and alſo to ſet down ſtrong broths, and rich cordials in his regimen, that the puſtules might be forced out, and filled the ſooner, contrary to the methods in vogue with the phyſicians of Cambridge; who, inſtead of keeping them in full ſtrength that nature might operate, and have its proper courſe, weakened them by letting them blood, and darkening the chambers wherein they lay, for fear of their catching cold. But thoſe who had the care of the marquis's health, inſtead of obſerving the method which Radcliffe had preſcribed, took their own meaſures of bleeding, &c. which ſtruck the ſmall-pox into the ſtomach, from whence it was not in the power of art to raiſe it again. The ducheſs of Marlborough being acquainted with the dangerous ſituation of her ſon, went in perſon to Dr. Radcliffe's houſe, to ſolicit his aſſiſtance. But as ſoon as he had heard in what manner the young marquis had been treated, and the ducheſs continuing very urgent with him to go down to Cambridge, he is ſaid to have addreſſed himſelf to her in the following terms: "Madam, I ſhould only put you to a great expence to no purpoſe; for you have nothing to do for his lordſhip now, but to ſend down an undertaker to take care of his funeral; for I can aſſure your grace, he

he is dead by this time of a diſtemper called *the doctor;* though he would have been recovered from the ſmall-pox, had it not been for the intervention of that unfortunate malady." Nor was he, it is ſaid, out in his conjectures; for as ſoon as the ducheſs had returned to her apartments at St. James's houſe, a meſſenger arrived with the news of the young marquis's death.

In 1704, a general collection being made for propagating the goſpel in foreign parts, Dr. Radcliffe, unknown to any of the ſociety, ſettled 50l. per annum, payable for ever to them, under a concealed name. In the ſame year, he alſo made a preſent of 500l. to the deprived biſhop of Norwich, to be diſtributed among the poor non-juring clergy; but he deſired this alſo to be kept a ſecret; and it was not known till after the biſhop's death from whence the benefaction came, but it was then diſcovered, by Radcliffe's letter upon the ſubject being found among the prelate's papers.

A few days before the death of prince George of Denmark, huſband to queen Anne, application was made to Dr. Radcliffe to attend him. The prince had for ſome years before been troubled with an aſthma and a dropſy; for the cure of which, he was perſuaded by her majeſty, and his own phyſicians, to go to Bath. Accordingly, he went thither, accompanied by the queen, the year before he died; and as he thought himſelf much better after he came to Bath, the queen and court expreſſed their admiration at the healing virtues of the waters there, and applauded the ſkill of the phyſicians who had adviſed the journey. But Radcliffe then ſaid, "that the enſuing year would let them all know their miſtakes, in following ſuch prepoſterous and unadviſed counſels; ſince the very nature of a dropſy might have led thoſe, whoſe duty it was to have preſcribed proper medicines for the cure of it, into other precautions for the ſafety of ſo illuſtrious a patient, than the choice of means that muſt unavoidably feed it." And indeed the prince ſoon fell into a relapſe; and,

after

after a ſix-month's ſtruggle, was ſeized in ſuch a manner with violent ſhiverings and convulſions, on the 22d of October 1708, that his phyſicians were of opinion Dr. Radcliffe was the only perſon now to be applied to. In purſuance of this advice, the queen, ſetting aſide former reſentments, out of concern for the preſervation of the prince's life, cauſed Radcliffe to be ſent for in one of her own coaches; and was pleaſed to tell him, "that no rewards or favours ſhould be wanting, could he but remove the convulſions ſhe was troubled with, by the cure of thoſe which her dearly beloved huſband bore." But the doctor, who was unaccuſtomed to flattery, inſtantly gave her majeſty to underſtand, that nothing but death could releaſe his highneſs from the pangs he was afflicted with; and ſaid, "that though it might be a rule among ſurgeons to apply cauſtics to ſuch as were burnt or ſcalded, it was very irregular among phyſicians to drive and expel watery humours from the body by draughts of the ſame element. However, he would leave ſomething in writing, whereby ſuch hydropics and anodynes ſhould be prepared for him, as ſhould give him an eaſier paſſage out of this world; ſince he had been ſo tampered with, that nothing in the art of phyſic could keep the prince alive more than ſix days." And accordingly he died on the 28th of the ſame month.

Dr. Radcliffe was himſelf ſufficiently addicted to the accumulation of wealth: yet he was apt to treat thoſe with great contempt, who behaved to him in a mean or niggardly manner. This was remarkably exemplified in the caſe of Mr. Tyſon of Hackney, a perſon of great wealth, and who was ſaid at the time of his death to have been worth more than 300,000l. It happened that this man, who was as much diſtinguiſhed by the meanneſs of his ſoul, as for the largeneſs of his fortune, had ſo long dealt with quacks, for cheapneſs ſake, that he was reduced to the loweſt ebb of life; his continuance in it being in a manner deſpaired of. His friends and neighbours had repeated

repeated their inſtances with him, to no manner of purpoſe, that he would apply to ſome able phyſician for advice, as his caſe appeared to be ſo dangerous; but the expence ſeemed to be a greater terror than even the apprehenſions of death itſelf. At length, however, the extreme near view of the next world, frightened him into a reſolution of uſing ſome proper means to make his abode in this as long as poſſible. In order to which, he pitched upon Dr. Radcliffe, as the only perſon capable of giving him relief in this dangerous ſtate: but the great difficulty was, how to keep the doctor from diſcovering him, ſo that he might procure his aſſiſtance without the uſual expence. At laſt, with that view, he and his wife agreed to wait upon the doctor at his own houſe; and being carried in their own coach to the Royal-exchange, they there hired a hack to Bloomſbury, where Radcliffe then lived. When they came to his houſe with two guineas in hand, and a very mean habit, Mr. Tyſon opened his caſe to the doctor, not without alleging his poverty, as a motive for having advice upon moderate terms. But neither his ſickneſs nor his apparel had diſguiſed him ſo much as to deceive Radcliffe, who happened to know his face. He had, therefore, no ſooner heard what he had to ſay, and taken his gold, but he told him, that "he might go home, and die, and be damned, without a ſpeedy repentance; for both death and the devil were ready for one Tyſon of Hackney, who had raiſed an immenſe eſtate out of the ſpoils of the public, and the tears of orphans and widows; and would certainly be a dead man in ten days." And the event, we are told, did not falſify the prediction; for the old uſurer returned to his houſe, quite confounded with the ſentence that had been paſſed upon him, and died within eight days after.

In 1712, the young duke of Beaufort, who was an intimate friend and companion of Dr. Radcliffe, was taken ill of the ſmall-pox at his houſe in London. The doctor being ſent for, found his grace's chamber window-ſhutters

dow-ſhutters cloſed up in ſuch a manner, by the order of the ducheſs, his grandmother, that hardly a breath of air could come into the room, ſo that the duke was almoſt deprived of the very means of reſpiration. This had been the practice of the phyſicians when the ducheſs was young, and therefore ſhe was reſolved to abide by this method, as the moſt proper in this conjuncture, being fearful that her grandſon might otherwiſe catch cold, by which means ſhe might loſe a life that was ſo dear to her. She had alſo taken a reſolution to give her attendance upon the duke in perſon, during his ſickneſs, and was in the moſt violent conſternation and paſſion imaginable, when Dr. Radcliffe, at his firſt viſit, ordered the curtains of the bed to be drawn open, and the light to be let in as uſual into his bed-chamber. "How! (ſaid the ducheſs) have you a mind to kill my grandſon? Is this the tenderneſs and affection you have always expreſſed for his perſon? 'Tis moſt certain, his grandfather and I were uſed after another manner; nor ſhall he be treated otherwiſe than we were, ſince we recovered and lived to a great age, without any ſuch dangerous experiments." "All this may be (replied Radcliffe), but I muſt be free with your grace, and tell you, that, unleſs you will give me your word, that you'll inſtantly go home to Chelſea, and leave the duke wholly to my care, I ſhall not ſtir one foot for him: which, if you will do, without intermeddling with your unneceſſary advice, my life for his that he never miſcarries, but will be at liberty to pay you a viſit in a month's time."

At laſt, with much difficulty, the ducheſs was perſuaded to acquieſce; and had the ſatisfaction to ſee her grandſon within the time limited at Chelſea, and reſtored to perfect health. In conſequence of which, ſhe had ſuch an implicit faith in Radcliffe's ſkill afterwards, that, though ſhe was then in the 85th year of her age, ſhe declared "it was her opinion, ſhe ſhould never die while

while he lived, it being in his power to give length to her days by his never-failing medicines."

About this time, the renowned prince Eugene came over into England; and it happened in a ſhort time after his arrival, that the Chevalier de Soiſſons, his highneſs's nephew, in a nightly encounter with the watch, was ſo bruiſed, that he was thrown into a violent fever, which was falſely ſaid to terminate in the ſmall-pox, to cover the reproach of ſuch an unprincely diſaſter. Hereupon Dr. Radcliffe, being called upon for his advice, very frankly told the prince, "that he was extremely concerned he could be of no ſervice to him, in the recovery of a perſon ſo dear and nearly related to him, as the chevalier, ſince the Sieur Swartenburgh, his highneſs's phyſician had put it out of his power, by miſtaking the nature of the diſtemper; but that he ſhould hold it among the greateſt honours he had ever received, if he might have the happineſs of entertaining ſo great a general, to whoſe noble atchievements the world was indebted, at his poor habitation." The chevalier died ſoon after, and was interred in Weſtminſter-abbey. But prince Eugene, afterwards remembering Dr. Radcliffe's invitation, ſent him word, that he intended to come and dine with him on a certain day. The doctor made proviſion accordingly, but, inſtead of ragouts, and other faſhionable diſhes, ordered his table to be covered with ſolid diſhes of beef, pork, and mutton, dreſſed after the Engliſh manner, for the firſt courſe; at which ſeveral of the nobility who were preſent, and were little accuſtomed to whole joints of butchers' meat, made light of the doctor's entertainment. But the prince, upon taking leave of him, ſaid, in French, "Doctor, I have been fed at other tables like a courtier, but entertained at yours as a ſoldier; for which I am highly indebted to you, ſince I muſt tell you, that I am more ambitious of being called by the latter appellation than the former. Nor can I wonder at the bravery of the Britiſh nation, that has ſuch food

and

and liquors (alluding to ſome very fine ale) of their own growth, as what you have this day given us a proof of."

In 1713, Dr. Radcliffe was elected member of parliament for the town of Buckingham; and when the malt-tax bill was brought in, whereby the Scots were to be aſſeſſed in proportion to that part of Great Britain called England, the doctor made the following ſhort ſpeech in the houſe of commons in favour of the bill:

'Mr. Speaker,

'I am ſenſible, that though I am an old man, I am but a young member, and therefore ſhould decline ſpeaking till my betters have delivered their ſentiments; but young and old are obliged to ſhew their duty to their country, which I look upon with the eyes of a ſon to his parent. Crœſus' ſon, that was tongue-tied, ſpoke when his father was in danger; and I, who otherwiſe ſhould have no reliſh for ſpeech-making, do the ſame upon much the ſame motive. The North Britiſh member that ſpoke laſt ſays, their nation has had hardſhips enough put upon them in other matters relating to the Union, not to have an addition made to them in this article of the malt-tax. But by that worthy gentleman's leave. I muſt beg the favour to ſay, that all the hardſhips, if any, lay on the ſide of England. For as I take it, to give on the one part, and to receive on the other, are two different caſes: therefore, it is but fitting they ſhould refund the equivalent, which we who are ſuch gainers by it, made them a preſent of, or acquieſce, in this duty upon malt, which will not come to the 20th part of it: ſince it is very reaſonable that we, who have given them money to come and incorporate with us, ought to have it returned us again, if they refuſe to be upon equal terms with us. This is my ſenſe of the matter, therefore I am for reading the bill a ſecond time.' The doctor alſo made a ſpeech

ſpeech in favour of the bill to prevent the growth of ſchiſm.

On the firſt of Auguſt 1714, queen Anne died; and a report was ſoon after propagated, that not only the privy-council, but the queen herſelf, had given orders for Dr. Radcliffe to be preſent at a conſultation with the other phyſicians, and that he excuſed himſelf from coming, under pretence of an indiſpoſition. This rumour cauſed a conſiderable part of the nation to be much incenſed againſt Radcliffe: but the truth is ſaid to be, that his name was never ſo much as mentioned, either by the queen, or any one lord of the council; and that he was only ſent for by the lady Maſham, two hours before her majeſty's death, without their knowledge, after the doctor had received the particulars of her caſe from Dr. Mead. Radcliffe was then down at his ſeat at Caſehalton, or Carſhalton, much afflicted with the gout, which had ſeized his head and ſtomach, and made him utterly unfit to travel. However, he ſent word by the meſſenger, "That his duty to her majeſty would oblige him to attend her, had he proper orders for ſo doing; but he judged, as matters at that juncture ſtood between him and the queen, who had taken an antipathy againſt him, that his preſence would be of more diſſervice to her majeſty than uſe; and that ſince her majeſty's caſe was deſperate, and her diſtemper incurable, he could not at all think it proper to give her any diſturbance in her laſt moments, which were ſo very near at hand; but that it was rather an act of duty and compaſſion, to let her majeſty die as eaſy as poſſible."

Many perſons, however, continued to be much exaſperated againſt Radcliffe, for his ſuppoſed neglect of the late queen; ſo that one of his old friends, and with whom he had always voted on the Tory ſide, made a motion in the houſe of commons, that Dr. Radcliffe might be ſummoned to attend in his place, in order to be cenſured for not waiting upon the queen in

her laſt extremities. This is referred to in the following letter, which the doctor wrote to another of his friends:

Caſehalton, Auguſt, 1714.

'Dear Sir,

'I could not have thought ſo old an acquaintance, and ſo good a friend as Sir John always profeſſed himſelf, would have made ſuch a motion againſt me. God knows my will to do her majeſty any ſervice has ever got the ſtart of my ability; and I have nothing that gives me greater anxiety and trouble, than the death of that great and glorious princeſs. I muſt do that juſtice to the phyſicians that attended her in her illneſs, from a ſight of the method that was taken for her preſervation, tranſmitted me by Dr. Mead, as to declare nothing was omitted for her preſervation; but the people about her (the plagues of Egypt fall on them) put it out of the power of phyſic to be of any benefit to her. I know the nature of attending crowned heads in their laſt moments, too well, to be fond of waiting upon them, without being ſent for by a proper authority. You have heard of pardons being ſigned for phyſicians before a ſovereign's demiſe. However, as ill as I was, I would have went to the queen in a horſe-litter, had either her majeſty, or thoſe in commiſſion next to her, commanded me ſo to do. You may tell Sir John as much, and aſſure him from me, that his zeal for her majeſty will not excuſe his ill uſage of a friend, who has drank many a hundred bottles with him, and cannot, even after this breach of a good underſtanding, that ever was preſerved between us, but have a very good eſteem for him. I muſt alſo deſire you to thank Tom Chapman for his ſpeech in my behalf, ſince I hear it is the firſt he ever made, which is taken the more kindly; and to acquaint him, that I ſhall be glad to ſee him at Caſehalton, ſince I fear (for ſo the gout tells me)

me) that we ſhall never ſit any more in the houſe of commons together.

'I am Dear Sir,
'Yours, with the greateſt friendſhip
'and obſervance,
'JOHN RADCLIFFE.'

The indignation of many againſt the doctor, eſpecially of the more violent Tories, who profeſſed a great reverence for the memory of queen Anne, was at length carried to ſuch height, that he was not without great apprehenſions of being aſſaſſinated. This appears from the following letter, which he wrote to Dr. Mead, and which was directed to that phyſician, at Child's Coffee-houſe, in St. Paul's Church-yard.

Caſehalton, Auguſt 3. 1714.

'Dear Sir,

'I give you and your brother many thanks for the favour you intend me to-morrow; and if there is any other friend that will be agreeable to you, he ſhall meet with an hearty welcome from me. Dinner ſhall be on the table by two, when you ſhall be ſure to find me ready to wait on you. Nor ſhall I be at any other time from home, becauſe I have received ſeveral letters that threaten me with being pulled in pieces, if ever I come to London. After ſuch menaces as theſe, it is eaſy to imagine, that the converſation of two ſuch very good friends is not only extremely deſireable, but the enjoyment of it will be a great happineſs and ſatisfaction to him, who is,

'Dear Sir,
'Your moſt obliged humble ſervant,
'JOHN RADCLIFFE.'

There is reaſon to believe, that the doctor's chagrin at his having incurred ſo much odium as rendered it unſafe for him to go abroad, and his confinement at home on that account, greatly contributed towards

ſhortening his life. Indeed, he aſſerts this himſelf, in a letter he wrote to the earl of Denbigh, which is dated the 15th of October 1714. 'Your lordſhip (ſays he) is too well acquainted with my temper to imagine, that I could bear the reproaches of my friends, and threats of my enemies, without laying them deeply at heart: eſpecially ſince there are no grounds for the one, nor foundation for the other; and you will give me credit when I ſay, theſe conſiderations alone have ſhortened my days. I dare perſuade myſelf, that the reports which have been raiſed of me, relating to my non-attendance on the queen in her laſt moments, are received by you, as by others of my conſtant and aſſured friends, with an air of contempt and diſbelief; and could wiſh they made as little impreſſion on me. But I find them to be inſupportable, and have experienced, that, though there are repellent medicines for diſeaſes of the body, thoſe of the mind are too ſtrong and impetuous for the feeble reſiſtance of the moſt powerful artiſt.'

In this letter, Radcliffe alſo regrets, that he had indulged himſelf in ſuch liberties with his bottle companions, and adviſes lord Denbigh, who was one of them, to adopt a more regular courſe of life. 'Your lordſhip knows how far an air of jollity has obtained amongſt you and your acquaintance, and how many of them, in a few years, have died martyrs to exceſs. Let me conjure you, therefore, for the good of your ſoul, the preſervation of your health, and the benefit of the public, to deny yourſelf the deſtructive liberties you have hitherto taken; and which, I muſt confeſs, with a heart full of ſorrow, I have been too great a partaker of in your company.'

Radcliffe had long before this, ſent ſome advice of the ſame kind to lord Craven, which was occaſioned by the untimely end of their common friend, Mr. William Nutley. And when that nobleman died, the doctor wrote a letter to the duke of Beaufort, in which, after

after obſerving, that the diſorder which carried off lord Craven, was brought on him by his free manner of living, he recommended it to his grace, to conſult the preſervation of his health, 'by letting the exerciſes of the field ſhare with the pleaſures of the bottle."

An inſtance of Radcliffe's generoſity to this Mr. Nutley, deſerves to be recorded. This gentleman being ſomewhat indiſpoſed, the doctor made him a viſit both as a friend and a phyſician; but, upon examining into the ſtate of his health, he found that his diſorder lay rather in his mind than his body, and ſuſpected that it aroſe from ſome embarraſſment in his circumſtances. Radcliffe, therefore, went away, and told him, he would preſcribe ſuch a remedy as ſhould infallibly cure him. Accordingly he ſoon after ſent him two hundred guineas; with a letter, in which he aſſured him that three hundred more were at his ſervice. And he found that he had adopted the right method of treating his friend's caſe, who was much ſooner recovered from his indiſpoſition by the doctor's money, than he would have been by any medicines which he could have preſcribed for him.

Dr. Radcliffe died on the 1ſt of November 1714; and his body lay in ſtate, at the houſe where he died, till the 27th of that month. It was then removed to the houſe of an undertaker in the Strand, from whence it was conveyed to Oxford, where it was interred on Friday the third of December following, on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the organ gallery in St. Mary's Church, in that univerſity, to which he had left by his will the greateſt part of his eſtate. All the colleges and halls in the univerſity were directed to toll a bell on the day on which the doctor was buried; as had alſo been done two days before, when an oration was made in honour of his memory by the univerſity orator. His funeral was attended by the vice-chancellor, the regius profeſſor of phyſic, and all of that faculty; by the noblemen of the univerſity, the doctors and bachelors

of divinity and law, and the maſters of arts. And before the interment, a Latin oration was made over the body in the convocation houſe.

We ſhall here inſert, the character of Dr. Radcliffe, as drawn by the author of the Britiſh Biography, 8vo. in the ſeventh volume of that work:

'Dr. Radcliffe was the moſt celebrated phyſician of 'his time, and was generally conſidered as ſuperior to 'all others as a ſucceſsful practitioner. His greateſt 'excellence ſeems to have been an happy ſagacity in 'finding out the cauſes of diſeaſes, which the better en-'abled him to apply the proper remedies. As he was 'apt to ſpeak contemptuouſly of other phyſicians, and 'of their modes of practice, ſo the gentlemen of the 'faculty in his own time, as well as ſince, have ſpoken 'very ſlightingly of him in their turn, It is probable, 'that people in general entertained too high an opinion 'of him, to the prejudice of other phyſicians of real 'merit; but, on the other hand, there ſeems reaſon to 'believe, that thoſe of the ſame profeſſion have not 'done juſtice to the medical abilities of Radcliffe. Sir 'Hans Sloane had an high opinion of Radcliffe's me-'rit: and, in order to expreſs more emphatically 'his contempt of ſuch perſons as ſpent the beſt part 'of their time in niceties of language and verbal cri-'ticiſms, he obſerves, in the introduction to the ſecond 'volume of his Natural Hiſtory of Jamaica, that one 'of this turn would needs perſuade him, that Dr. Rad-'cliffe could not cure a diſeaſe, becauſe he had ſeen a 'recipe of his, wherein the word *Pilula* was ſpelt with 'll. Radcliffe was not a hard ſtudent, but he certainly 'had a liberal education, and was unqueſtionably a man 'of wit, and ſtrong natural underſtanding; and the 'uncommon extenſiveneſs of his practice muſt have 'greatly contributed towards increaſing his ſkill and 'abilities as a phyſician.'

By his will Dr. Radcliffe left 1000l. per annum to his ſiſter, Mrs. Hannah Redſhaw, for her life; to his

ſiſter,

ſiſter, Mrs. Millicent Radcliffe, 500l. per annum for her life; and to two of his nephews, the one 500l. per annum for life, and to the other 200l. He alſo gave the ſum of 500l. per annum for ever to St. Bartholomew's Hoſpital, towards mending the diet of the patients; and alſo 100l. for ever, for buying linen for the ſaid hoſpital. He alſo gave annuities for their lives to five of his ſervants; and to his four executors 500l. each, for their trouble.

But the principal part of his eſtate he bequeathed to the univerſity of Oxford, to which he was a very munificent benefactor. He left all his eſtates in Yorkſhire in truſt, to pay thereout 600l. per annum to two perſons, to be choſen out of the univerſity of Oxford, when they are maſters of arts, and entered on the phyſical line. They are to receive this ſum for their maintainance for the ſpace of ten years, and no longer; the half of which time, at leaſt, they are to travel in parts beyond ſea, for their better improvement. And the yearly overplus of his Yorkſhire eſtates he left to Univerſity-college in Oxford, for the buying perpetual advowſons for the members of that college. He alſo left five thouſand pounds for building the front of Univerſity-college, down to Logic-lane, anſwerable to the front that was already built; and for building the maſters lodgings therein, and chambers for his two travelling fellows. He likewiſe left forty thouſand pounds for building a library in Oxford, and purchaſing the lands on which it was to be built: and gave one hundred and fifty pounds per annum for ever, as a ſalary for the library-keeper; one hundred pounds per annum for ever, for purchaſing books for the ſaid library; and one hundred pounds per annum for keeping it in repair.

The Radcliffean library was finiſhed in the year 1747, and is a great ornament to the univerſity of Oxford. James Gibbs was the architect by whom it was erected. It ſtands in the middle of a magnificent ſquare,

ſquare, formed by St. Mary's Church, the public ſchools, and Brazen-noſe and All-ſouls colleges. It is a ſumptuous pile of building, ſtanding upon arcades, which, circularly diſpoſed, incloſe a ſpacious dome, in the centre of which is the library itſelf, and into which there is an aſcent by a flight of ſpiral ſteps, well executed. The library, which has been ſtiled a complete pattern of elegance and majeſty in building, is adorned with fine compartments of ſtucco. It is incloſed by a circular ſeries of arches, beautified with feſtoons, and ſupported by pilaſters of the Ionic order: behind theſe arches are formed two circular galleries above and below, where the books are diſpoſed in elegant cabinets: the compartments of the cieling in the upper gallery are finely ſtuccoed: the pavement is of two colours, and made of a particular ſpecies of ſtone, brought from Hart's Foreſt in Germany; and over the door is a ſtatue of Dr. Radcliffe, well executed by Ryſbrack.—The finiſhing and decorations of this Attic edifice are all in the higheſt taſte imaginable; and the beautiful area, in which this noble library ſtands, is adorned with a conſiderable number of obeliſks and lamps.

As Dr. Radcliffe's eſtates produced more than was ſufficient for the particular purpoſes for which he bequeathed them, his truſtees erected and completely furniſhed the public infirmary, at the north ſide of the city of Oxford; and which is denominated "The Radcliffe Infirmary, for the relief of the Sick and Lame Poor, from whatever County recommended." This is an inſtitution naturally calculated to be productive of very extenſive benefit; as, in ſuch a ſituation as that of Oxford, it not only relieves the poor, but ſerves as a ſchool for thoſe who ſtudy the healing art.

*** *Authorities.* Radcliffe's Life and Letters, 4th edit. 8vo. 1736. Biog. Britan. Britiſh Biog. vol. vii. 8vo. 1772.

THE

THE LIFE OF

JOHN FLAMSTEED.

[A. D. 1646, to 1719.]

JOHN FLAMSTEED, the celebrated aſtronomer and and mathematician, was the ſon of Stephen Flamſteed, a ſubſtantial yeoman of Denby, a village in Derbyſhire, where he was born in the year 1646. He had from his infancy a natural tenderneſs of conſtitution, which he could never ſurmount. He was educated at the free-ſchool of Derby, and at fourteen years of age was afflicted with a ſevere fit of ſickneſs, which, being followed by a conſumption, and other diſtempers, prevented his going to the univerſity, as had been intended.

He was taken from ſchool in the year 1662, and, within a month or two after, had John de Sacroboſco's book "De Sphæra" lent him, which he ſet himſelf to read without any inſtructor. This accident, and the leiſure which he now had, laid the ground work of all that mathematical and aſtronomical knowledge, for which he became afterwards ſo celebrated. He had already read a great deal of hiſtory, eccleſiaſtical as well as civil; but this ſubject was intirely new to him, and he was greatly delighted with it. Having tranſlated ſo much from Sacroboſco as he thought neceſſary into Engliſh, he proceeded to make dials by the direction of ſuch ordinary books as he could procure; and having changed a piece of aſtrology, found among his father's books, for Mr. Street's Caroline Tables, he ſet himſelf to calculate the places of the planets. He ſpent ſome part of his time, however, in aſtrological ſtudies, yet ſo as to make them ſubſervient to uſeful aſtronomy; for he never was captivated with the ſolemn pretenſions of that vain ſcience.

Having calculated by the Caroline Tables an eclipſe of

of the ſun, which was to happen on the 22d of June 1666, he communicated it to a relation, who ſhewed it to Emanuel Halton, Eſq. of Wingfield-manor, in Derbyſhire. This gentleman was a good mathematician, as appears from ſome of his pieces, publiſhed in the Appendix to Foſter's Mathematical Miſcellanies. He came to ſee Mr. Flamſteed ſoon after; and, finding he was little acquainted with the aſtronomical performances of others, ſent him Ricciolus's New Almageſt, in Latin, and Kepler's Rudolphine Tables, with ſome other mathematical books to which he was before a ſtranger. And, from this time, he proſecuted his ſtudies with great vigour, and with equal ſucceſs.

In 1669, he collected ſome remarkable eclipſes of the fixed ſtars by the moon, which would happen in 1670, calculating them from the Caroline Tables; and directed them to lord Brounker, then preſident of the Royal Society. This piece being read before the ſociety, was ſo much approved, that it procured him letters of thanks, dated January the 14th, 1670, from Mr. Oldenburgh, their ſecretary, and from Mr. John Collins. And, after this, he had accounts ſent him of all the mathematical books which were publiſhed, either at home or abroad.

In June 1670, his father, who had hitherto diſcountenanced his ſtudies, taking notice of his correſpondence with ſeveral ingenious men whom he had never ſeen, adviſed him to take a journey to London, that he might be perſonally acquainted with them. Mr. Flamſteed gladly embraced this propoſal, and viſited Mr. Oldenburgh and Mr. Collins; and they introduced him to Sir Jonas Moore, one of the moſt eminent mathematicians of thoſe times, and the firſt Engliſh author of a Syſtem of Mathematics. Sir Jonas took Mr. Flamſteed under his protection, preſented him Mr. Townley's micrometer, and undertook to procure him glaſſes for a teleſcope at a moderate rate. Flamſteed ſoon after went to Cambridge, where he viſited Barrow, Roe, and

and Newton; and at the ſame time he entered himſelf a ſtudent of Jeſus-college; and Sir Jonas Moore contributed to bear his expences.

In the ſpring of the year 1672, he extracted ſome obſervations from Mr. Gaſcoigne's and Mr. Crabtree's Letters, on Mathematical Subjects, which had not been made public, and which he tranſlated into Latin. He finiſhed the tranſcript of Mr. Gaſcoigne's papers in May; and ſpent the remainder of the year in making obſervations, and in preparing advertiſements of the approaches of the moon and planets to the fixed ſtars for the following year. Theſe were publiſhed by Mr. Oldenburgh in the Philoſophical Tranſactions; with ſome obſervations on the planets, which Mr. Flamſteed imparted to him.

In 1673, he wrote a ſmall tract in Engliſh concerning the true and apparent diameters of all the planets, when at their neareſt or remoteſt diſtances from the earth. In 1674, he wrote an Ephemeris, to ſhew the falſity of aſtrology, and the ignorance of thoſe that pretended to it; and gave a table of the moon's riſing and ſetting carefully calculated, together with the eclipſes and approaches of the moon and planets to the fixed ſtars. This was communicated to Sir Jonas Moore, for whom Mr. Flamſteed made a table of the moon's true ſouthing that year; from which, and Mr. Philips's Theory of the Tides, the high waters being made, he found that they ſhewed the times of the turn of the tides very nearly; whereas the ſeaman's common rules would err ſometimes two or three hours.

In 1674, Mr. Flamſteed paſſing through London in the way to Cambridge, Sir Jonas Moore informed him, that a true account of the tides would be highly acceptable to his majeſty; upon which he compoſed a ſmall Ephemeris for the king's uſe. Sir Jonas had heard him often diſcourſe of the weather-glaſs, or barometer, and the certainty of judging of the weather by it, from a long ſeries of obſervations he had made upon it;

it, and now requeſted him to ſet up a pair of theſe glaſſes, which Mr. Flamſteed did, and left him materials, for making more. Sir Jonas put a high value on theſe glaſſes; and mentioning them as curioſities to the king and duke of York, he was ordered to exhibt them the next day, which he did, together with Mr. Flamſteed's directions for judging of the weather from their riſing or falling. Sir Jonas was a very ſincere friend to Mr. Flamſteed; he took much pains to introduce him to the notice and patronage of the king and the duke of York; and whenever he acquainted them with any thing curious, which he had gathered from Mr. Flamſteed's diſcourſe, he told them frankly from whom he had it; and alſo recommended him to the nobility and perſons of diſtinction about the court.

Mr. Flamſteed, having taken the degree of maſter of arts at Cambridge, reſolved to enter into holy orders, and to ſettle at a ſmall living near Derby, which was in the gift of a friend of his father's. In the mean time, Sir Jonas Moore having notice of his deſign, wrote to him to come to London, whither he returned in February, 1675. He was entertained in the houſe of that gentleman, who had other views for him; but Mr. Flamſteed perſiſting in his reſolution to take orders, he did not diſſuade him from it. On the 4th of March following, Sir Jonas brought Mr. Flamſteed a warrant to be the king's aſtronomer, with a ſalary of 100 l. per annum, payable out of the office of ordnance, to commence from the Michaelmas before. This, however, did not induce him to relinquiſh his deſign of entering into holy orders; ſo that the Eaſter following he was ordained at Ely-houſe by biſhop Gunning, who ever after converſed freely with him, and particularly upon the new philoſophy and opinions, though that prelate always maintained the old.

On the 10th of Auguſt 1675, the foundation of the royal obſervatory at Greenwich was laid; and as Mr. Flamſteed was the firſt royal aſtronomer, for whoſe uſe this

this edifice was erected, it ſtill bears the name of Flamſteed-houſe. During the building of it he lodged at Greenwich; and his quadrant and teleſcopes being kept in the queen's houſe there, he obſerved the appulſes of the moon and planets to the fixed ſtars. In 1681, his "Doctrine of the Sphere" was publiſhed in Sir Jonas Moore's Syſtem of the Mathematics.

About the year 1684, he was preſented to the living of Burſtow, near Blechingly, in Surry. Of the manner in which Mr. Flamſteed obtained this living, the following account is given by Mr. Roger North. "Sir Jonas Moore once invited the lord-keeper, North, to dine with him at the Tower; and, after dinner, preſented Mr. Flamſteed. His lordſhip received him with much familiarity, and encouraged him to come and ſee him often, that he might have the pleaſure of his converſation. The ſtar-gazer was not wanting to himſelf in that; and his lordſhip was extremely delighted with his accounts and obſervations about the planets, eſpecially thoſe attendant on Jupiter; ſhewing how the eclipſes of them, being regular and calculable might rectify the longitude of places upon the globe, and demonſtrating that light did not paſs inſtantaneouſly, but in time; with other remarkables in the heavens. Theſe diſcourſes always regaled his lordſhip; and a good benefice falling void, not far from the obſervatory, in the gift of the great-ſeal, his lordſhip gave it to Mr. Flamſteed; which ſet him at eaſe in his fortunes, and encouraged his future labours, from which great things were expected; as applying the Jovial obſervations to marine uſes, for finding longitudes at ſea, and to correct the globes, celeſtial and terreſtrial, which were very faulty. And in order to the firſt, he had compoſed tables of the eclipſes of the ſatellites, which ſhewed when they were to happen, one after another; and of theſe, finely painted upon a neat board, he made a preſent to his lordſhip. And he had advanced his other deſign of rectifying maps, by having provided

large blank globes, on which he might inſcribe his places corrected. But plenty and pains ſeldom dwell together; for as one enters, the other gives way; and, in this inſtance, a good living, penſions, &c. ſpoiled a good coſmographer and aſtronomer; ſo very little is left of Mr. Flamſteed's ſedulous and judicious applications that way."

In juſtice to Mr. Flamſteed, it ſhould be obſerved, that there appears no juſt ground for North's reflection againſt him, at the cloſe of the above paſſage. His aſtronomical inquiries might not produce all the conſequences, which he ſometimes expected from them; but nothing of this kind ſeems to have ariſen from any want of application in him; for the Philoſophical Tranſactions afford ample evidence of his activity and diligence, as well as of his penetration and exactneſs, in aſtronomical ſtudies, after he had obtained the preferments that have been already mentioned, and which were all that ever were conferred upon him.

In December 1719, Mr. Flamſteed was ſeized with the ſtrangury, which carried him off on the laſt day of that month. He left a widow behind him, by whom he had no children. He had ſpent a great part of his life in the purſuit of knowledge; and his uncommon merit as an aſtronomer was acknowledged by the ableſt of his contemporaries; particularly by Dr. John Wallis, Dr. Edmund Halley, and Sir Iſaac Newton; and amongſt his foreign correſpondents, was the celebrated Caſſini.

His "Hiſtoria Cœleſtis Britannica" was publiſhed at London in 1725, in three volumes folio, and dedicated to the king, by his widow, Mrs. Margaret Flamſteed, and Mr. James Hodgſon. Great part of this work had been printed off before his death, and the reſt completed, except the Prolegomena prefixed to the third volume.

The celebrated mathematician, Dr. John Keill, obſerves, "that Mr. Flamſteed, with indefatigable pains for more than forty years, watched the motions of the ſtars,

ſtars, and has given us innumerable obſervations of the ſun, moon, and planets, which he made with very large inſtruments exactly divided by moſt exquiſite art, and fitted with teleſcopical ſights. Whence we are to rely more upon the obſervations he hath made, than on thoſe that went before him, who had made their obſervations with the naked eye, without the aſſiſtance of teleſcopes. The ſaid Mr. Flamſteed has likewiſe compoſed the Britiſh catalogue of the fixed ſtars, containing about three thouſand ſtars, which is twice the number that are in the catalogue of Hevelius; to each of which he has annexed its longitude, latitude, right aſcenſion, and diſtance from the pole; together with the variation of right aſcenſion and declination, while the longitude increaſes a degree. This catalogue, together with moſt of his obſervations, is printed on a fine paper and character."

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. New Gen. Biog. Dict. Brit. Biog. vol. vii. Keill's Preface to his Introduction to the True Philoſophy.

THE LIFE OF

JOSEPH ADDISON.

[A. D. 1672, to 1719.]

JOSEPH ADDISON, the ſon of Lancelot Addiſon, dean of Litchfield, was born at Milſton near Ambroſbury, in the county of Wilts, of which place his father was then rector, on the firſt of May 1672; and, being not thought likely to live, was baptized on the ſame day, as appears from the church regiſter.

The firſt rudiments of education he received under the care of the reverend Mr. Naiſh, at Ambroſbury. He was afterwards removed to a ſchool at Saliſbury, and

from thence to the Charter-houſe, where he was under the tuition of the learned Dr. Ellis, and where he contracted an intimacy with Mr. Steele, afterwards Sir Richard, which laſted as long as Mr. Addiſon lived.

He was not above fifteen when he went to the univerſity of Oxford, where he was entered of Queen's College, in which his father had ſtudied. He applied himſelf, at this time, with ſuch diligence to claſſical learning, that he had acquired an elegant Latin ſtyle before he arrived at that age, in which lads uſually begin to write good Engliſh.

A paper of his verſes in that tongue fell, by accident, in the year 1687, into the hands of Dr. Lancaſter, dean of Magdalen-college, who was ſo well pleaſed with them, that he immediately procured their author's election into that houſe, where he took his degrees of bachelor and maſter of arts.

His Latin poetry, in the courſe of a few years, was exceedingly admired in both the univerſities, and juſtly gained him the reputation of a good poet, before his name was ſo much as known in town.

It is not exactly known, at what age our author wrote ſome of his Latin poems; however, they were certainly written very early, and they ſtill retain that high eſteem which was firſt conceived of them. They were publiſhed in the ſecond volume of "*Muſarum Anglicanarum Analecta*," and are as follows. 1. "*Pax Gulielmi Auſpiciis Europæ reddita*, 1697; Peace under the Auſpices of William reſtored to Europe." 2. "*Barometri Deſcriptio*; A Deſcription of the Barometer." 3. "*Prælium inter Pigmæos & Grues commiſſum*; The Battle between the Pigmies and the Cranes." 4. "*Reſurrectio delineata ad altare Coll. Magd. Oxon.* A Poem upon the Reſurrection, being a Deſcription of the Painting over the Altar in Magdalen-college in Oxford." 5. "*Spheriſterium*; The Bowling Green." 6. "*Ad D. Hannes inſigniſſimum Medicum & Poetam*; To Dr. Hannes, an excellent Phyſician and Poet, an Ode." 7. "*Machinæ*

chinæ Geſticulantes Anglicæ; The Engliſh Puppet-ſhow." 8. "*Ad inſigniſſimum Virum D. T. Burnettum, Sacræ Theoriæ Telluris Authorem;* To the celebrated Dr. Thomas Burnet, Author of the Theory of the Earth, an Ode."—Theſe poems have been tranſlated into Engliſh by Dr. George Sewel, of Peterhouſe, Cambridge; and by Mr. Newcomb, and Nicholas Amherſt, Eſq. both of Oxford.

He was twenty-two years of age before he publiſhed any thing in Engliſh; and then appeared a copy of verſes addreſſed to Mr. Dryden; which procured him immediately, and that very deſervedly, from the beſt judges in that nice age, a great reputation.

Not long after, he publiſhed a tranſlation of the fourth Georgic of Virgil (omitting the ſtory of Ariſtæus), exceedingly commended by Mr. Dryden. He wrote alſo that diſcourſe on the Georgics, which is prefixed to them by way of preface, in Mr. Dryden's tranſlation, and which is allowed to be one of the juſteſt pieces of criticiſm in our own, or in any other language.

Mr. Addiſon now finding his reputation eſtabliſhed as a poet, obliged the world frequently with poems upon different ſubjects; amongſt the reſt, one dated the third of April 1694, directed to Mr. H. S. that is, Henry Sacheverell, who was afterwards the famous Dr. Sacheverell: with whom Mr. Addiſon lived in perfect friendſhip, till it was diſſolved by their diſagreement in political principles.

The following year Mr. Addiſon began to have higher views, which diſcovered themſelves in a poem to king William, on one of his campaigns, addreſſed to the lord-keeper, Sir John Somers.

That judicious ſtateſman received this mark of a young author's attachment with great politeneſs; took him thenceforward into the number of his friends, and gave him, upon all occaſions, ſignal proofs of a ſincere eſteem.

He had been very preſſingly ſolicited, while at the

univerſity to enter into holy orders; which he ſeemed once reſolved on, probably from reſpect to his father; but his great modeſty inclining him to doubt his own abilities, he receded from his choice; and having ſhewn an inclination to travel, he was encouraged to it by his patron, who, conſidering that his country might be benefited by the travels of a man of Mr. Addiſon's fine genius, procured him from the crown an annual penſion of 300l. which enabled him to make a tour to Italy, at the latter end of 1699.

In 1701, Mr. Addiſon wrote from Italy an epiſtolary poem to Montague, lord Halifax. This was moſt juſtly admired as a finiſhed piece of its kind; and indeed ſome have pronounced it the very beſt of Mr. Addiſon's performances.

This poem was tranſlated by the abbot Antonio Mario Salvini, Greek profeſſor at Florence, into Italian verſe; which tranſlation is printed with the original, in Mr. Tickell's quarto edition of Mr. Addiſon's works.

Lord Halifax had, that year, been impeached by the commons in parliament, for procuring exorbitant grants from the crown to his own uſe; and farther charged, with cutting down and waſting the timber in his majeſty's foreſts, and with holding ſeveral offices in the Exchequer, that were inconſiſtent, and deſigned as checks upon each other. The commons had likewiſe addreſſed the king to remove him from his councils and preſence for ever.

This attack had occaſioned his retiring; and Mr. Addiſon's addreſs at this time is a noble proof of his gratitude, as well as a laſting monument of his good ſenſe.

Mr. Addiſon came home in 1703. He would have returned earlier, had he not been thought of as a proper perſon to attend prince Eugene, who commanded for the emperor in Italy; which employment he would have been well pleaſed with, but the death of king William

William put an end to that plan, caused a cessation of his pension, and left him without hope of preferment.

He remained at home a very considerable space of time (his friends being then out of the ministry), before any occasion offered, either of his farther displaying his great abilities, or of his meeting with any suitable reward for the honour his works had already done his country. He was indebted to an accident for both.

In the year 1704, the lord-treasurer, Godolphin, happened to complain to the lord Halifax, that the duke of Marlborough's victory at Blenheim had not been celebrated in verse in the manner it deserved; intimating, that he would take it kindly, if his lordship, who was the known patron of the poets, would name a gentleman capable of writing upon so elevated a subject.

Lord Halifax replied with some quickness, that he was well acquainted with such a person, but that he would not name him; adding, that he had long seen with indignation, men of no merit maintained in pomp and luxury at the expence of the public, while persons of too much modesty, with great abilities, languished in obscurity. The treasurer said very coolly, that he was sorry his lordship had occasion to make such an observation; and that, for the future, he would take care to render it less just than it might be at present; but that, in the mean time, he would pawn his honour, whoever his lordship should name might venture upon this theme without fear of losing his time. Lord Halifax thereupon named Mr. Addison, but insisted that the treasurer himself should send to him, which he promised,

Accordingly, he prevailed upon Mr. Boyle, afterwards lord Carleton, chancellor of the Exchequer, to go, in his name, to Mr. Addison, and communicate to him the business; which he accordingly did in so obliging a manner, that he readily entered upon the task.

The

The lord-treaſurer, Godolphin, ſaw the poem before it was finiſhed, when the author had written no farther than the famous ſimile of the Angel; and was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he immediately made him a commiſſioner of appeals.

This celebrated poem is intituled "The Campaign," addreſſed to the duke of Marlborough, and contains a ſhort view of the military tranſactions in the year 1704, with a very particular, as well as poetical deſcription, of the two great actions at Schellemberg and Blenheim.

Several other eminent writers employed their pens on the ſame ſubject; particularly Mr. J. Philips, and Mr. Euſden, who was afterwards poet-laureat. However, Mr. Addiſon's was by far the moſt admired; and ſome of his warmeſt friends have ventured to prefer this poem to the reſt of his works. Perhaps this is a partiality to the ſubject, rather than to the piece itſelf, which, however fine, could not be the moſt excellent of Mr. Addiſon's performances, becauſe of its natural irregularity.

In 1705, Mr. Addiſon publiſhed an account of his travels, dedicated to lord Somers. From want of taſte, this performance was at firſt but indifferently received; but being at length carefully examined, and highly commended by the moſt eminent men of letters both at home and abroad, it roſe to five times the original price before a ſecond edition could be printed.

The two great points laboured in theſe travels, are, the recommending the claſſic writers, and promoting the cauſe of liberty.—Theſe points had been before purſued in the poetic epiſtle to lord Halifax, and therefore Mr. Tickell has very juſtly and judiciouſly obſerved, that this epiſtle may be conſidered as the text, upon which the book of travels is a large comment.

The ſame year, Mr. Addiſon attended lord Halifax to Hanover; and, in the ſucceeding year, he was made choice of for under-ſecretary to Sir Charles Hodges, then

then appointed ſecretary of ſtate; and ſoon after, the earl of Sunderland, ſucceeding Sir Charles in that office, continued Mr. Addiſon in the poſt of under-ſecretary.

Operas being at this time much in vogue, many people of diſtinction and true taſte importuned Mr. Addiſon to make a trial, whether ſenſe and ſound were really ſo incompatible as ſome admirers of the Italian pieces would repreſent them. He was at laſt prevailed upon to comply with their requeſts, and compoſed his inimitable "Roſamond."

This piece was inſcribed to the ducheſs of Marlborough; and though it did not ſucceed on the ſtage, it has been, and ever will be, applauded in the cloſet.

About the ſame time, Addiſon aſſiſted the ingenious Sir Richard Steele in his play called the "Tender Huſband," to which he wrote a humorous prologue. Sir Richard, whoſe gratitude was full as warm as his wit, ſurpriſed him with a dedication, which may be conſidered as one of the few monuments of praiſe, not unworthy of him to whoſe honour it was erected.

In 1709, the marquis of Wharton, being appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, carried over Mr. Addiſon into that kingdom, in the quality of his ſecretary. Her majeſty alſo was pleaſed, as a mark of her peculiar favour, to augment the ſalary annexed to the place of keeper of the records in that kingdom, and to beſtow it upon him.

While he was in Ireland, his friend Steele publiſhed the Tatler; which appeared for the firſt time on the 12th of April 1709. Mr. Addiſon diſcovered the author by an obſervation on Virgil, which he had communicated to him. This diſcovery led him to farther aſſiſtances, inſomuch, that, as Steele well expreſſed it, he fared by this means like a diſtreſſed prince, who calls in a powerful neighbour to his aid; that is, he was undone by his auxiliary. Such was the ſuperiority of Mr. Addiſon's genius, and ſo true a taſte the town then had of correct and fine writing.

The

The papers written by Mr. Addiſon were not diſtinguiſhed in this collection by any mark; but Sir Richard Steele, at the requeſt of Mr. Tickell, pointed them out to him; and not only ſo, but ſhewed him ſuch as they were jointly concerned in: and theſe, as well as his own, are printed in the ſecond volume of Mr. Addiſon's works.

Upon the change in the miniſtry, our author being more at leiſure, engaged oftener in that work, until its concluſion on the 2d of January 1711.

Immediately after the Tatler was laid down, Sir Richard Steele formed the project of the Spectator; the plan of which he concerted with Mr. Addiſon.

The firſt paper appeared on the firſt of March 1711; and in the courſe of that celebrated work, Mr. Addiſon furniſhed a great part of thoſe papers which were moſt admired. It was finiſhed on the ſixth of September 1712; and Mr. Addiſon, to prevent any diſputes or miſtakes, which might otherwiſe have happened, took care to diſtinguiſh his papers, throughout the whole, by one of the letters in the name of the Muſe CLIO.

The affinity between the Tatlers, Spectators, and Guardians, makes it unneceſſary to enter into the merit of ſuch papers as Mr. Addiſon contributed, in the carrying on the two laſt undertakings. In the Spectators, the character of Sir Roger de Coverley was his particular favourite. We are told by a gentleman, who was thought to be well acquainted with Mr. Addiſon's affairs, that he was ſo tender of this character, as to go to Sir Richard Steele, on his publiſhing a Spectator, wherein he made Sir Roger pick up a woman in the Temple-cloiſters; and would not part with his friend, until he had promiſed to meddle with the old knight's character no more. However, Mr. Addiſon, to make ſure, and to prevent any abſurdities which the authors of ſubſequent Spectators might fall into, reſolved to remove that character out of the way; or, as he pleaſantly expreſſed

expreſſed it to an intimate friend, to *kill* Sir Roger, that nobody elſe might *murder* him.

When the old Spectator was laid down, a new one appeared; which, though written by men of wit and genius, did not ſucceed; and they had the good ſenſe not to puſh the attempt too far. Without queſtion, the original Spectator will always be eſteemed, not only as excellent in its nature and execution, but as truly honourable to the times, in which it was received with ſo much applauſe.

The Guardian, a paper in the ſame taſte, and, which is ſaying much more, in the ſame ſpirit, entertained the town in the years 1713, and 1714; Mr. Addiſon had a large ſhare therein, and his papers were particularly applauded: he alſo wrote once or twice in the Lover, another periodical paper.

It was neceſſary to ſpeak of theſe performances together, which has carried us a little out of the order of time. Let us return therefore to the year 1713, in which appeared his famous tragedy of Cato.

He took up the deſign of writing a tragedy on that ſubject, when he was very young; he actually wrote great part of it while he was on his travels; however, he retouched it on his return to England, without any formed deſign of bringing it on the ſtage; but ſome friends of his believing that it might be advantageous to the cauſe of liberty, he was prevailed on to make it fit for the ſtage; which he accordingly did, by adding the greateſt part of the laſt act.

When it appeared, it was gazed on as a wonder; all parties applauded it; it ran thirty-five nights without interruption; and, what was more to the author's reputation, the beſt judges declared in its favour, when they had read it, with the ſame paſſion the pit had done, when it was firſt performed. Mr. Pope wrote the prologue, which is ſublime; Dr. Garth the epilogue, which is humorous. It was recommended by many excellent copies of verſes prefixed to it; among which, the ſincerity

cerity of Steele, and the genius of Mr. Euſden, deſerve to be diſtinguiſhed.

Foreign nations have done this work of our author's as much honour as our own, and indeed it is one of thoſe few performances, which cannot receive more honour than it deſerves.

Mr. Boyer tranſlated it into French the ſame year wherein it was publiſhed; but very indifferently.—Abbé du Bos made an excellent verſion; of which, however, only the three firſt ſcenes were printed. L'Abbati Salvini tranſlated it into Italian. His tranſlation was acted at Leghorn with prodigious applauſe; and he afterwards publiſhed it at Florence. It is not known whether Signior Valetta's tranſlation was ever printed; he was a young Neapolitan nobleman, who did it purely for his amuſement. The Jeſuits at St. Omer's tranſlated it into Latin, and cauſed it to be acted by their pupils there, with great magnificence. They likewiſe ſent Mr. Addiſon a copy of their tranſlation.

Queen Anne was not the laſt in doing juſtice to our author, and his performance. She was pleaſed to ſignify an inclination of having it dedicated to her; but the author publiſhed it without a dedication, becauſe, as it is ſaid, he had propoſed to dedicate it elſewhere, and by this method he thought to avoid offending either his duty or his honour. If, in the ſubſequent part of his life, his leiſure had been greater, we are told he would have written another tragedy, intituled, "The Death of Socrates." But the honours beſtowed on him, for what he had already performed, deprived poſterity of this promiſed labour.

Upon the death of the queen, the lords juſtices, regents of the kingdom till the arrival of George I. appointed Mr. Addiſon their ſecretary, which took him off from a deſign he had formed, of compoſing an Engliſh dictionary, on the plan of the famous Italian dictionary of the academy *Della Cruſca*. The king had ſome

ſome thoughts of making him ſecretary of ſtate at that time, but he was at pains to decline it, and accepted a ſecond time under the earl of Sunderland, the poſt of ſecretary to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland: he held it however but a very little time; for, on the earl's being removed, he was made one of the lords of trade.

In 1715, on the firſt breaking out of the rebellion, he publiſhed the Freeholder, which is a kind of political Spectator.

The Freeholder is particularly mentioned, becauſe it was a work written by Mr. Addiſon intirely, and upon his own plan. Some indeed have ſuppoſed, that he was aſſiſted in this work by Mr. Philips. But there ſeems to be no foundation for this report, ſince neither Mr. Tickell ſays any thing of it, nor does it appear from the papers themſelves, that they were written by different hands; for they are the moſt uniform, and the greateſt part of them, the moſt out of every man's way of writing, but Mr. Addiſon's, that can be imagined.

Mr. Addiſon certainly wrote theſe political papers in conſequence of his principles, out of a deſire to remove prejudices, and from a ſtrong inclination to ſupport the government, and make his country happy.—The making him ſecretary of ſtate, therefore, was but doing him juſtice for ſo extraordinary and well-timed a ſervice, which more than balanced that deficiency which he had objected againſt his own preferment, that he was no ſpeaker in the houſe of commons.

There were 55 papers in all; the firſt was publiſhed on the 23d of September 1715; and the laſt on the 29th of June 1716. He publiſhed alſo at this time, ſome little pieces of poetry, ſuch as verſes to Sir Godfrey Kneller, on the king's picture, and another copy to the princeſs of Wales, with the tragedy of Cato. In April 1717, his majeſty king George I. was pleaſed to appoint our author one of his principal ſecretaries of ſtate. His health, which had been before impaired by an aſthmatic diſorder, ſuffered exceedingly by an advance-

ment ſo much to his honour, but attended notwithſtanding with very great fatigue. He bore it, however, with very great patience, till finding, or rather ſuſpecting, that it might be prejudicial to the public buſineſs, he reſigned his office. Having thus procured for himſelf a vacancy from buſineſs, he grew better, and his friends were in hopes, that his health would have been thoroughly re-eſtabliſhed.

In his leiſure moments he applied himſelf to a work on the evidences of Chriſtianity, the firſt part whereof, though unfiniſhed, is preſerved and printed in his works. He likewiſe intended to have paraphraſed ſome of the Pſalms of David; but a long and painful relapſe broke all his deſigns, and deprived the world of this excellent perſon, in the month of June 1719. He died at Holland-houſe, near Kenſington; and left behind him an only daughter, by the counteſs-dowager of Warwick, whom he married in 1716. After his deceaſe, Mr. Tickell, who had the author's commands, and inſtructions, collected and publiſhed his works in four volumes, quarto. In this edition there are ſeveral pieces hitherto unmentioned, of which it is neceſſary we ſhould ſpeak. The firſt in order of time is, "The Diſſertation upon Medals;" which, though publiſhed after his death, yet the materials for it were collected in Italy, and he actually began to digeſt them into order, when at Vienna, in the year 1702.

In November 1707, appeared a pamphlet under the title of, "The preſent State of the War; and the Neceſſity of an Augmentation conſidered." It is now printed among Mr. Addiſon's works, and I believe nobody who reads it will doubt that it is his. The ſpirit with which it is written, the weighty obſervations contained therein, on the ſtrength and intereſt of foreign nations, and the comprehenſive knowledge ſhewn of all things relating to our own, evince it the work of no ordinary hand.

The "Whig Examiner" came out on the 14th of Septembe

September 1710, for the firſt time. There were five papers in all attributed to Mr. Addiſon. Theſe are by much the ſevereſt things he ever wrote. Dr. Sacheverell, Mr. Prior, and many other perſons, are in them very harſhly treated. "The Examiner" had done the ſame thing on the part of the Tories; and the avowed deſign of this paper was to make repriſals.

In 1713, was publiſhed a little pamphlet, intituled "The late Trial and Conviction of Count Tariff." It was intended to expoſe the Tory miniſter, on the head of the French commerce bill; and is likewiſe a very ſevere piece. Theſe are all that are included in Mr. Tickell's edition; they were publiſhed in the life-time of Mr. Addiſon, without his name; as was alſo "The Drummer, or the Haunted Houſe," a comedy, not taken notice of in this edition, but publiſhed afterwards, as Mr. Addiſon's, by Sir Richard Steele.

The following pieces have likewiſe been aſcribed to our author, *Diſſertatio de inſignioribus Romanorum poetis*; A Diſſertation upon the moſt eminent Roman poets. This is ſuppoſed to have been written about 1692, and is allowed to contain many uſeful obſervations; but nobody has hitherto ventured to decide poſitively whether it is, or is not, Mr. Addiſon's. "A Diſcourſe on ancient and modern Learning;" the time when it was written uncertain, but probably as early as the former. It was preſerved amongſt the manuſcripts of the lord Somers, which, after the death of Sir Joſeph Jekyl, being publicly ſold, this little piece came to be printed in 1739, and was as well received as it deſerved. To theſe we muſt add, "The Old Whig, No. 1. and 2;" pamphlets written in defence of the peerage-bill in 1719.

In the latter end of 1718, and in the beginning of 1719, the peerage-bill began firſt to be talked of, and the ſcope of the bill was this: That, inſtead of the ſixteen peers ſitting in parliament as repreſentatives of Scotland, there ſhould be, for the future, nine heredita-

ry peers by the junction of nine out of the body of the Scotch nobility, to the then ſixteen ſitting peers. That ſix Engliſh peers ſhould be added, and the peerage then to remain fixed; the crown to be reſtrained from making any new lords, but upon the extinction of families. What was the real view of this extraordinary ſcheme, it is not our buſineſs to inquire. It is ſufficient for our purpoſe to obſerve, that it gave a great alarm to the nation, and many papers were written with great ſpirit againſt it: amongſt the reſt, one called "The Plebeian," ſaid to have fallen from the pen of a member of the houſe of commons; and now known to have been written by Sir Richard Steele. To this, ſeveral anſwers were publiſhed, and abundance of pieces written in ſupport of this project, none of which, however, were favourably received.

At length came forth the Old Whig, No. 1. on the ſtate of the peerage, with remarks on the Plebeian; a quarto pamphlet, written with great perſpicuity, in a nervous ſtyle, not without ſome ſevere reflections on the Plebeian. The author of that paper did not ſuffer it to remain long unanſwered.

In his ſecond number, he replied to all the arguments therein made uſe of, treating the author with a good deal of aſperity, alledging, among other things, that the pamphlet had a very proper title, the author, if he was a Whig, ſeeming ſo old as to have forgotten his principles. There does not appear, however, any thing in the firſt Old Whig which betrays the author's knowledge of the Plebeian coming from Sir Richard Steele; neither is there any thing in the ſecond Plebeian, which intimates the writer's having the leaſt ſuſpicion, that the Old Whig was Mr. Addiſon's.

The ſecond Old Whig was written in ſupport of the firſt, and in anſwer to the ſecond Plebeian. It is a very judicious, and at the ſame time, a very warm and very humorous pamphlet; from the very beginning of which it is apparent, that the author knew, or at leaſt

was

was reſolved to conſider Sir Richard as the writer of the Plebeian. He ſtyles him the perfect maſter of the vocation of pamphlet-writing in one place, calls him Little Dicky in another, tells him, he has made the moſt of a bad cauſe in a third, and adviſes him as a friend in the cloſe, if he goes on in his new vocation, to take care that he be as happy in the choice of his ſubject, as he is in the talents of a pamphleteer.

The fourth Plebeian contains an anſwer to the ſecond Old Whig. It is written with much greater virulence than any of the reſt of the papers; his concluſion is very remarkable. "Authors (ſays he), in theſe caſes are named upon ſuſpicion, and if it is right as to the Old Whig, I leave the world to judge of this cauſe, by compariſon of this performance with his other writings; and I ſhall ſay no more of what is written in ſupport of vaſſalage, but end this paper by firing every free breaſt with that noble exhortation of the tragedian,

Remember, O! my friends, &c.

Mr. ADDISON'S CATO.

This is ſufficient to ſhew Sir Richard's belief; nor hath any body queſtioned the truth of his conjecture. The peerage bill went off notwithſtanding for that ſeſſions; and Mr. Addiſon died before it came on again.

It may not, however, be amiſs to obſerve, that, December 7. 1719, on a motion in the houſe of commons, for committing the peerage-bill, it was carried in the negative, by 269, againſt 177.

Of the manner of Mr. Addiſon's death, ſome account has been given by Dr. Young. From him we learn, that after a long and manly, but vain ſtruggle, with his diſtemper, Mr. Addiſon diſmiſſed his phyſicians, and with them all hopes of life. But with his hopes of life he diſmiſſed not his concern for the living, but ſent for the young earl of Warwick, ſon to his lady by a former huſband, who immediately came; but life now glim-

mering in the ſocket, the earl was ſilent. But after a decent and proper pauſe, his lordſhip ſaid, "Dear Sir, "you ſent for me: I believe and hope that you have "ſome commands; I ſhall hold them moſt ſacred." Forcibly graſping the earl's hand, Mr. Addiſon ſoftly replied, "See in what peace a Chriſtian can die!" He ſpoke with great difficulty, and ſoon expired.

Dr. Johnſon obſerves of Addiſon, that "if any judgment be made from his books, of his moral character, nothing will be found but purity and excellence.—Knowledge of mankind, indeed, leſs extenſive than that of Addiſon, will ſhew, that to write and to live are very different. Many who praiſe virtue, do no more than praiſe it. Yet it is reaſonable to believe, that Addiſon's profeſſions and practice were at no great variance; ſince, amidſt that ſtorm of faction in which moſt of his life was paſſed, though his ſtation made him conſpicuous, and his activity made him formidable, the character given him by his friends was never contradicted by his enemies: of thoſe with whom intereſt or opinion united him, he had not only the eſteem but the kindneſs; and of others, whom the violence of oppoſition drove againſt him, though he might loſe the love, he retained the reverence.

"It is juſtly obſerved by Tickell, that he employed wit on the ſide of virtue and religion. He not only made the proper uſe of wit himſelf, but he taught it to others; and from his time it has been generally ſubſervient to the cauſe of reaſon and of truth. He has diſſipated the prejudice that had long connected gaiety with wit, and eaſineſs of manners with laxity of principles. He has reſtored virtue to its dignity, and taught innocence not to be aſhamed. This is an elevation of literary character, *above all Greek, above all Roman fame.* No greater felicity can genius attain, than that of having purified intellectual pleaſure, ſeparated mirth from indecency, and wit from licentiouſneſs; of having taught a ſucceſſion of writers to bring elegance and gaiety

gaiety to the aid of goodneſs; and, if I may uſe expreſſions yet more awful, of having *turned many to righteouſneſs.*"

*** *Authorities.* Tickell's quarto edit. of Addiſon's Works, Lond. 1721. Cibber's Lives of the Poets.—Gen. Biog. Dictionary. Young's Conjectures on Original Compoſition. Johnſon's Lives of the Poets.

THE LIFE OF

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN.

[A. D. 1632, to 1723.]

THIS celebrated architect and philoſopher was the only ſon of Dr. Chriſtopher Wren, rector of Eaſt Knoyle in Wiltſhire, where he was born on the 20th of October 1632. He received a part of his education under the famous Dr. Buſby, at Weſtminſter ſchool; whence he was ſent to Oxford, and admitted a gentleman commoner at Wadham-college, when he was about fourteen years of age. And the advancements which he made there in mathematical knowledge, before he was ſixteen years of age, are ſpoken of, by that eminent mathematician, Mr. Oughtred, as very extraordinary. His uncommon abilities excited the attention and admiration of Dr. Wilkins, then warden of his college; and of Dr. Seth Ward, the Savilian profeſſor of aſtronomy, who then reſided in that college. By Dr. Wilkins he was introduced into the notice and favour of Charles, elector Palatine, to whom he preſented ſeveral mechanical inſtruments of his own invention.

In 1647, he became acquainted with Sir Charles Scarborough, at whoſe requeſt he undertook the tranſlating of Oughtred's Geometrical Dialling into Latin; and the ſame year, he invented ſeveral other mathema-

tical

tical inſtruments, and wrote a treatiſe of ſpherical trigonometry in a new method. He took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1650; and the following year he publiſhed a ſhort algebraical tract, relating to the Julian period. He was elected a fellow of All-ſouls-college in the beginning of November 1653, and on the 11th of December following, he took the degree of maſter of arts. In the mean time, he became one of the firſt members of the Philoſophical Society at Oxford; at whoſe firſt aſſemblies in Wadham-college, he exhibited many new theories, inventions, experiments, and mechanic improvements.

In 1657, he was elected profeſſor of aſtronomy in Greſham-college: and his lectures there on that ſcience were attended by many eminent and learned perſons. One ſubject of his lectures was upon teleſcopes, to the improvement of which he had greatly contributed. In 1658, he ſolved the problem propoſed by the famous Monſ. Paſcal, under the feigned name of Jean de Montfert, to all the Engliſh mathematicians; and returned another to the mathematicians in France (formerly propoſed by Kepler, and then ſolved likewiſe by Mr. Wren), of which they never gave any ſolution.

On the 5th of February 1661, he was choſen Savilian profeſſor of aſtronomy at Oxford, in the room of Dr. Seth Ward: upon which he reſigned his Greſham profeſſorſhip on the 3th of March following, and on the 15th of May entered on the other. On the 12th of September the ſame year, he was created doctor of the civil law.

Among his other eminent accompliſhments, Dr. Wren had already acquired ſo conſiderable a ſkill in architecture, that he was ſent for the ſame year from Oxford, by order of Charles II. to aſſiſt Sir John Denham, ſurveyor general of his majeſty's works. In 1663, he was choſen a fellow of the Royal Society, being one of thoſe who were firſt appointed by the council after the grant of their charter. And not long after, it being

ing expected, that the king would make the ſociety a viſit, the lord Brounker, then preſident, by a letter, deſired Dr. Wren's advice, who was then at Oxford, what experiments would be moſt proper for his majeſty's entertainment. To whom the doctor, in his anſwer, dated July 30. 1663, recommends principally the Torricellian Experiment, and the Weather Needle, as being not merely amuſements, but uſeful, and likewiſe neat in the operation, and attended with little incumbrance.

The new inſtitution of the Royal Society, Dr. Wren greatly promoted, by many curious and uſeful diſcoveries in aſtronomy, natural philoſophy, and other ſciences, of which Dr. Thomas Sprat, afterwards biſhop of Rocheſter, who was then a member of it, has given the following account in his "Hiſtory of the Royal Society."

"The firſt inſtance (ſays Dr. Sprat), that I ſhall mention, to which Dr. Wren may lay peculiar claim, is the doctrine of motion, which is the moſt conſiderable of all others, for eſtabliſhing the firſt principles of philoſophy by geometrical demonſtrations. This Des Cartes had before begun, having taken up ſome experiments of this kind upon conjecture, and made them the firſt foundation of his whole ſyſtem of nature. But ſome of his concluſions ſeeming very queſtionable, becauſe they were only derived from the groſs trials of balls meeting one another at tennis, and billiards; Dr. Wren produced before the ſociety an inſtrument to repreſent the effects of all ſorts of impulſes made between two hard globous bodies, either of equal, or of different bigneſs, and ſwiftneſs, following or meeting each other, or the one moving and the other at reſt. From theſe varieties aroſe many unexpected effects; of all which he demonſtrated the true theories, after they had been confirmed by many hundreds of experiments with that inſtrument. Theſe he propoſed as the principles of all demonſtrations in natural philoſophy. Nor can it ſeem ſtrange,

ſtrange, that theſe elements ſhould be of ſuch univerſal uſe; if we conſider, that generation, corruption, alteration, and all the viciſſitudes of nature, are nothing elſe but the effects ariſing from the meeting of little bodies, of different figures, magnitudes, and velocities.

"The ſecond work, which he has advanced, is the hiſtory of the ſeaſons; which will be of admirable benefit to mankind, if it ſhall be conſtantly purſued, and derived down to poſterity. His propoſal therefore was, to comprehend a diary of wind, weather, and other conditions of the air, as to heat, cold and weight; and alſo a general deſcription of the year, whether contagious or healthful to men or beaſts; with an account of epidemical diſeaſes, of blaſts, mildews, and other accidents, belonging to grain, cattle, fiſh, fowl, and inſects. And becauſe the difficulty of a conſtant obſervation of the air, by night and day, ſeemed invincible, he therefore deviſed a clock to be annexed to a weather-cock, which moved a rundle covered with paper, upon which the clock moved a black-lead pencil; ſo that the obſerver, by the traces of the pencil on the paper, might certainly conclude what winds had blown in his abſence for twelve hours ſpace. After a like manner, he contrived a thermometer to be its own regiſter. And becauſe the uſual thermometers were not found to give a true meaſure of the extenſion of the air, by reaſon that the accidental gravity of the liquor, as it lay higher or lower in the glaſs, weighed unequally on the air, and gave it a farther contraction or extenſion, over and above that which was produced by heat and cold; therefore he invented a circular thermometer, in which the liquor occaſions no fallacy, but remains always in one height, moving the whole inſtrument, like a wheel on its axis.

"He has contrived an inſtrument to meaſure the quantities of rain that falls. This, as ſoon as it is full, will pour out itſelf; and at the year's end diſcover how much rain has fallen on ſuch a ſpace of land, or other hard

hard ſuperficies; in order to the theory of vapours, rivers, ſeas, &c.

"He has deviſed many ſubtle ways for the eaſier finding the gravity of the atmoſphere, the degrees of drought and moiſture, and many of its other accidents. Amongſt theſe inſtruments there are balances, which are uſeful to other purpoſes, that ſhew the weight of the air by their ſpontaneous inclination.

"Amongſt the new diſcoveries of the pendulum, theſe are to be attributed to him, that the pendulum, in its motion from reſt to reſt, that is, in one deſcent and aſcent, moves unequally in equal times, according to a line of ſines; that it would continue to move either in circular or eliptical motions, and ſuch vibrations would have the ſame periods with thoſe that are reciprocal; and that by a complication of ſeveral pendulums depending one upon another, there might be repreſented motions, like the planetary heliacal motions, or more intricate; and yet that theſe pendulums would diſcover without confuſion (as the planets do) three or four ſeveral motions, acting upon one body with differing periods; and that there may be produced a natural ſtandard for meaſure from the pendulum for vulgar uſe.

"He has invented many ways to make aſtronomical obſervations more accurate and eaſy. He has fitted and hung quadrants, ſextants and radii, more commodiouſly than formerly. He has made two teleſcopes to open with a joint like a ſector, by which obſervers may infallibly take a diſtance to half-minutes and find no difference in the ſame obſervation reiterated ſeveral times; nor can any warping or luxation of the inſtrument hinder the truth of it.

"He has added many ſorts of retes, ſcrews, and other devices to teleſcopes, for taking ſmall diſtances and apparent diameters to ſeconds. He has made apertures to take in more or leſs light, as the obſerver pleaſes, by opening and ſhutting like the pupil of the eye, the better to fit glaſſes to crepuſculine obſervations.

tions. He has added much to the theory of dioptrics, much to the manufacture itſelf of grinding good glaſſes. He has attempted, and not without ſucceſs, the making of glaſſes of other forms than ſpherical. He has exactly meaſured and delineated the ſpheres of the humours in the eye, whoſe proportions one to another were only gueſſed at before. This accurate diſcuſſion produced the reaſon, why we ſee things erected; and that reflection conduces as much to viſion, as refraction.

" He diſcourſed to them a natural and eaſy theory of refraction which exactly anſwered every experiment. He fully demonſtrated all dioptrics in a few propoſitions, ſhewing not only (as in Kepler's dioptrics) the common properties of glaſſes, but the proportions by which the individual rays cut the axis, and each other; upon which the charges (as they are uſually called) of teleſcopes, or the proportion of the eye-glaſſes and apertures, are demonſtrably diſcovered.

" He has made conſtant obſervations on Saturn, and a theory of that planet, truly anſwering all obſervations, before the printed diſcourſe of Huygenius on that ſubject appeared.

" He has eſſayed to make a true ſelenography by meaſure; the world having nothing yet but pictures, rather than ſurveys or maps of the moon. He has ſtated the theory of the moon's libration, as far as his obſervations could carry him. He has compoſed a lunar globe, repreſenting not only the ſpots and various degrees of whiteneſs upon its ſurface, but the hills, eminences, and cavities, moulded in ſolid work. The globe, thus faſhioned into a true model of the moon, as you turn it to the light, repreſents all the menſtrual phaſes, with the variety of appearances that happen from the ſhadows of the mountains and valleys. He has made maps of the Pleiades, and other teleſcopical ſtars; and propoſed methods to determine the great doubt of the earth's motion or reſt, by the ſmall ſtars about the pole to be ſeen in large teleſcopes.

In

"In order to navigation, he has carefully purſued many magnetical experiments; of which this is one of the nobleſt and moſt fruitful of ſpeculation. A large terrella is placed in the midſt of a plane-board, with a hole, into which the terrella is half immerſed, till it be like a globe with the poles in the horizon. Then is the plane duſted over with ſteel filings equally from a ſieve. The duſt, by the magnetical virtue, is immediately figured into furrows, that bend like a ſort of helix, proceeding, as it were, out of one pole, and returning into the other. And the whole plane is thus figured like the circle of a planiſphere.

"It being a queſtion amongſt the problems of navigation very well worth reſolving, to what mechanical powers ſailing (againſt the wind eſpecially) was reducible; he ſhewed it to be a wedge. And he demonſtrated, how a tranſient force upon an oblique plane would cauſe the motion of the plane againſt the firſt mover. And he made an inſtrument, that mechanically produced the ſame effect, and ſhewed the reaſon of ſailing to all winds.

"The geometrical mechanics of rowing he ſhewed to be a vectis on a moving or cedent fulcrum. For this end he made inſtruments to find what the expanſion of body was towards the hindrance of motion in a liquid medium, and what degree of impediment was produced by what degree of expanſion; with other things that are the neceſſary elements for laying down the geometry of ſailing, ſwimming, rowing, flying, and the fabrics of ſhips.

"He has invented a very curious and exceeding ſpeedy way of etching. He has ſtarted ſeveral things towards the emendation of water-works. He has made inſtruments of reſpiration, and for ſtraining the breath from fuliginous vapours, to try whether the ſame breath ſo purified will ſerve again.

"He was the firſt inventor of drawing pictures by microſcopical glaſſes. He has found out perpetual, at

leaſt long-lived lamps, and regiſters of furnaces, and the like, for keeping a perpetual temperature, in order to various uſes; as hatching of eggs, inſects, production of plants, chymical preparations, imitating nature in producing foſſils and minerals, keeping the motion of watches equal in order to longitudes, and aſtronomical uſes, and infinite other advantages.

"He was the firſt author of the noble anatomical experiment of injecting liquors into the veins of animals; an experiment now vulgarly known; but long ſince exhibited to the meetings at Oxford, and thence carried by ſome Germans, and publiſhed abroad. By this operation, divers creatures were immediately purged, vomited, intoxicated, killed, or revived, according to the quality of the liquor injected. Hence aroſe many new experiments, and chiefly that of transfuſing blood, which the ſociety has proſecuted in ſundry inſtances.

"This is a ſhort account of the principal diſcoveries which Dr. Wren has preſented or ſuggeſted to this aſſembly. I know very well, that ſome of them he did only ſtart and deſign; and that they have been ſince carried on to perfection by the induſtry of other hands. I purpoſe not to rob them of their ſhare in the honour; yet it is but reaſonable, that the original invention ſhould be aſcribed to the true author, rather than the finiſhers. Nor do I fear that this will be thought too much, which I have ſaid concerning him; for there is a peculiar reverence due to ſo much excellence, covered with ſo much modeſty. And it is not flattery, but honeſty, to give him his juſt praiſe; who is ſo far from uſurping the fame of other men, that he endeavours, with all care, to conceal his own."

In the year 1665, Dr. Wren went over to France, where he not only ſurveyed all the buildings of note in Paris, and made excurſions to divers other places, but took particular notice of what was moſt remarkable in every branch of mechanics, and contracted an acquaintance with moſt of the conſiderable virtuoſi.

And

And in a letter, which he wrote at this time to one of his friends, he tells him, "he was ſo careful not to loſe the impreſſions of thoſe ſtructures he had ſurveyed, that he ſhould bring all France in paper, &c." And he concludes his letter with a numerous catalogue of architects, ſculptors, ſtatuaries, ſtucco-makers, painters in hiſtory and portraiture, gravers of medals and coins, and other artiſts, then famous in that country.

Upon his return to England, he was appointed architect, and one of the commiſſioners, for the reparation of the cathedral of St. Paul. And within a few days after the fire of London, which began upon the 2d of September 1666, he drew a plan for a new city. This model was ſo formed, that the chief ſtreets were to croſs each other in right lines, with leſſer ſtreets between them; the public buildings and markets to be ſo diſpoſed as not to interfere with the ſtreets; and four piazzas, placed at proper diſtances, in which ſeveral of the ſtreets were to meet. The parochial churches were to be ſo placed, as to be ſeen at the end of every viſta of houſes, and diſpoſed in ſuch diſtances from each, as to appear neither too thick nor thin in proſpect. The cathedral of St. Paul was to have been the centre of the city, from whence ſtreets were to have proceeded to all the principal parts of it. The public halls for the ſeveral companies were to have faced the Thames, and to have been built upon a quay, on which alſo were to have been erected houſes for ſome of the principal merchants. But the execution of this noble deſign was unhappily prevented by the diſputes which aroſe about private property, and the haſte and hurry of rebuilding; though it is ſaid that the practicability of Dr. Wren's whole plan, without loſs to any man, or infringement of any property, was at that time demonſtrated, and all material objections fully weighed and anſwered.

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Upon the deceaſe of Sir John Denham, who died in

March 1668, Dr. Wren ſucceeded him in the office of ſurveyor general of his majeſty's works.

In 1668, he finiſhed that magnificent edifice, the theatre at Oxford. In this ſtructure, the admirable contrivance of the flat roof, being eighty feet over the one way, and ſeventy the other, without any arch-work or pillars to ſupport it, is particularly remarkable.

The variety of buſineſs in which he was now engaged as an architect, requiring his conſtant attendance, he reſigned his Savilian profeſſorſhip at Oxford on the 9th of April 1673. And the year following he received from king Charles II. the honour of knighthood. Some time after, he married Faith, the daughter of Sir Thomas Coghill, of Blechington, in Oxfordſhire, by whom he had one ſon of his own name: and ſhe dying ſoon after, he married Jane, daughter of William lord Fitz William, baron of Lifford in the kingdom of Ireland. By her he had two children, a ſon named William, and a daughter of the ſame name with his lady.

In 1677, Sir Chriſtopher Wren finiſhed the monument, which was erected to commemorate the burning and rebuilding of London. It is a pillar of the Doric order, the pedeſtal of which is forty feet high, and 21 ſquare, the diameter of the column 15 feet, and the altitude of the whole 202; and it greatly exceeds in height the pillars at Rome of the emperors Trajan and Antoninus, the ſtately remains of Roman grandeur; or that of Theodoſius at Conſtantinople. The author of "The Review of our Public Buildings" obſerves, that this monument is "undoubtedly the nobleſt modern column in the world; nay, in ſome reſpects, it may juſtly vie with thoſe celebrated ones of antiquity, which are conſecrated to the names of Trajan and Antonine. Nothing can be more bold and ſurpriſing, nothing more beautiful and harmonious: the bas relief at the baſe, allowing for ſome few defects, is finely imagined, and executed as well: and nothing material can

be

be cavilled with, but the inſcriptions round about it." Theſe, however, Sir Chriſtopher Wren had prepared in a more elegant and maſculine ſtyle: but he was over-ruled.

In 1680, he was elected preſident of the Royal Society; and in 1681, he had completed the church of St. Stephen's, Walbrooke. It is obſerved by an ingenious writer, that "the Church in Walbrooke, ſo little known among us, is famous all over Europe, and is juſtly reputed the maſter-piece of the celebrated Sir Chriſtopher Wren. Perhaps Italy itſelf can produce no modern building, that can vie with it in taſte or proportion; there is not a beauty which the plan would admit of, that is not to be found here in its greateſt perfection; and foreigners very juſtly call our judgment in queſtion for underſtanding its graces no better, and allowing it no higher a degree of fame."

In 1685, he was choſen member of parliament for Plympton in Devonſhire. In 1690, he began to build the royal apartments at Hampton-court, which were finiſhed in 1694, juſt before the death of queen Mary. King William once ſaid, in the preſence of ſeveral perſons of the firſt quality, that theſe two apartments, for good proportion, ſtate, and convenience, jointly, were not paralleled by any palace in Europe. Queen Mary had an elegant taſte for the polite arts, and a knowledge in many ſciences greatly ſuperior to moſt of her ſex; and ſhe took pleaſure in converſing freely with Sir Chriſtopher Wren, not only on the ſubject of architecture, but on the other branches of mathematics.

In 1690, he finiſhed Chelſea-college, and beſides erecting the building, he alſo preſcribed the ſtatutes and whole economy of that houſe. He was alſo the architect of that magnificent edifice, Greenwich-hoſpital; and employed his time, labour, and ſkill, in erecting it, without any ſalary, emolument, or reward, in order to promote the generous purpoſe for which it was deſigned.

In 1700, he was elected a burgeſs in parliament for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, in Dorſetſhire. In 1708, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners for building the fifty new churches in and about London. In 1710, he finiſhed the cathedral of St. Paul. It has been obſerved, that this ample and magnificent cathedral was completed in the ſpace of thirty-five years, under one architect, and one biſhop of London, Dr. Henry Compton; but in the reigns of four princes, Charles II. James II. William and Mary, and queen Anne; whereas that of St. Peter's at Rome was 145 years in building, by twelve architects, aſſiſted by the policy and intereſt of the Roman ſee, the ready acquiſition of marble, and by the beſt artiſts in the world in ſculpture, ſtatuary, painting, and moſaic work, and in the reigns of nineteen popes.

St. Paul's cathedral is the moſt magnificent Proteſtant church in the world; and it is generally acknowledged by all travellers of taſte, that the outſide, and particularly the front of St. Paul's, is much ſuperior even to St. Peter's at Rome. The whole expence of erecting St. Paul's cathedral, was 736,752l. 2s. 3d. When Sir Chriſtopher Wren was firſt called upon to produce his deſigns for this ſtately edifice, he had before drawn ſeveral, in order to diſcover what would be moſt acceptable to the general taſte; and finding that perſons of all degrees declared for magnificence and grandeur, he formed a very noble one, conformable to the beſt ſtyle of Greek and Roman architecture, and having cauſed a large model to be made of it in wood, with all its ornaments, he preſented it to his majeſty; but the biſhops not approving of it, as not having enough of the cathedral form, Sir Chriſtopher was ordered to amend it; upon which he produced the plan of the preſent ſtructure, which was approved of. The firſt deſign, however, which was only of the Corinthian order, like St. Peter's at Rome, Sir Chriſtopher himſelf ſet a higher value upon, than any other he ever drew,

drew, and would have put it in execution with more cheerfulneſs than that which we now ſee erected. This curious model is ſtill preſerved in the cathedral.

He was employed in erecting a great variety of other churches and public edifices; but notwithſtanding his extraordinary merit, in April, 1718, his patent for the royal works was ſuperſeded, in the eighty-ſixth year of his age, after more than fifty years ſpent in a continued, active, and laborious ſervice to the crown and the public. The removal of this illuſtrious architect from his place, at ſo advanced an age, was extremely ungenerous. Till this time he had reſided in a houſe, which is appropriated to the office of ſurveyor general, in Scotland-yard, adjoining to Whitehall. But after his removal from that employment, he dwelt occaſionally in St. James's Street, in Weſtminſter, and remained ſurveyor of the abbey from the year 1698, when he was conſtituted to that office, till the time of his death. He had another houſe, that belonged to the ſurveyor general to the crown, at Hampton-court; the enjoyment of which had been granted him by queen Anne, and was held by an Exchequer leaſe, which deſcended to his ſon and heir. In coming from this houſe to London, he contracted a cold, which occaſioned his death, in the 91ſt year of his age, on the 25th of February, in the year 1723. He died, as he had lived, with great calmneſs and ſerenity. His funeral was attended by many perſons of honour and diſtinction, with great ſolemnity, from his houſe in Weſtminſter to St. Paul's Cathedral; where his corpſe was depoſited in the vault under the ſouth wing of the choir, near the eaſt end, under a flat ſtone on the pavement, which is railed in between two pillars; upon which ſtone is a ſhort inſcription, in Engliſh, covering the ſingle vault which contains his body. But the church itſelf, which was built by him, being the moſt noble and proper monument to perpetuate the memory of this great man, he wanted no other; as is juſtly intimated in another inſcription, written by his

ſon,

ſon, in Latin, and placed on the ſide of the weſtern pillar, above the former, to the following purpoſe:—"Underneath here lies buried CHRISTOPHER WREN, the builder of this church and city, who lived upwards of ninety years, not to himſelf, but for the good of the public. Reader, if thou ſeekeſt his monument, look round."

Sir Chriſtopher Wren was in his perſon of a low ſtature, and thin; but by temperance and ſkilful management (for he was a proficient in anatomy and phyſic), he enjoyed a good ſtate of health, and his life was protracted to an unuſual length. He might however probably be partly indebted for his health and long life to the cheerfulneſs and evenneſs of his temper, for which he was ever remarkable. He was alſo modeſt, devout, ſtrictly virtuous, and very communicative of what he knew. He was extremely diſintereſted; and the acquiſition of wealth appears hardly in any degree to have been an object of his attention.

Beſides being the greateſt architect of the age in which he lived, ſo extenſive was his learning, and knowledge in all the polite arts, but eſpecially the mathematics; his invention ſo fertile, and his diſcoveries ſo numerous and uſeful; that he muſt always be eſteemed a benefactor to mankind, and an ornament to his country. Mr. Hooke, who was intimately acquainted with him, and very able to make a juſt eſtimate of his abilities, ſpeaks of him in the following emphatic terms: "I muſt affirm (ſays he), that ſince the time of Archimedes there ſcarcely ever has met in one man, in ſo great a perfection, ſuch a mechanical head, and ſo philoſophical a mind."

Sir Chriſtopher was ſucceeded in his eſtate by his eldeſt ſon, and only ſurviving child, Chriſtopher Wren, Eſq. who was educated at Eton ſchool, whence he was removed to Pembroke-hall in Cambridge. In 1684, he was made deputy clerk ingroſſer; and in 1698, he travelled through Holland, France, and Italy. He was twice

twice choſen member of parliament for Windſor, in the years 1712, and 1714. He was a learned and pious man, a good antiquary, and beloved by all his acquaintance for his communicative diſpoſition. He died in 1747, at the age of ſeventy-two, and lies interred at Wroxhall in Warwickſhire, where he had a country ſeat.—In 1708, he publiſhed in 4to, a treatiſe intituled, "Numiſmatum antiquorum ſylloge, populis Græcis, Municipiis et Coloniis Romanis caſorum. Ex chimeliarcho editoris." He alſo left behind him a treatiſe in manuſcript with the following title: "Parentalia: Memorials of the Lives of the Right Reverend Father in God, Matthew Wren, D. D. Lord Biſhop of Ely; Chriſtopher Wren, D. D. Dean of Windſor; and Sir Chriſtopher Wren, Knight, Surveyor General of the Royal Buildings. With Collections of Records and Original Papers." This piece, with ſome alteration in the title, was publiſhed by his ſon Stephen, in 1750, in folio—Sir Chriſtopher's daughter, Jane, died in her father's life-time, unmarried, at the age of twenty-ſix, as appears by a monument of white marble erected to her memory againſt one of the pillars near the ſouth-eaſt end of St. Paul's vault, in which ſhe was alſo interred, almoſt oppoſite to her father.

The following is a catalogue of the churches of the city of London, royal palaces, hoſpitals, and public edifices, built by Sir Chriſtopher Wren, during the ſpace of 50 years. *viz.* from 1668 to 1718.

St. Paul's Cathedral
Alhallow's the Great
Alhallow's, Bread-ſtreet
Alhallow's, Lombard-ſtreet
St. Alban, Wood-ſtreet
St. Anne and Agnes
St. Andrew, Wardrobe
St. Andrew, Holborn
St. Antholin
St. Auſtin
St. Bennet, Gracechurch
St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf
St. Bennet, Finke
St. Bride
St. Bartholomew
Chriſt's Church
St. Clement, Eaſt-cheap
St. Clement Danes

St

St. Dionis, Backchurch
St. Edmund the King
St. George, Botolph-lane
St. James, Garlick-hill
St. James, Weſtminſter
St. Lawrence, Jewry
St. Michael, Baſſing-hall
St. Michael Royal
St. Michael, Queen-hithe
St. Michael, Wood-ſtreet
St. Michael, Crooked-lane
St. Martin, Ludgate
St. Matthew, Friday-ſtreet
St. Michael, Cornhill
St. Margaret, Lothbury
St. Margaret, Pattens
St. Mary, Abchurch
St. Mary, Aldermanbury
St. Mary-le-bow
St. Mary Magdalen
St. Mary, Somerſet
St. Mary-at-hill
St. Nicholas, Cold-abbey
St. Olave, Jewry
St. Peter, Cornhill
St. Swithin, Cannon-ſtreet
St. Stephen, Walbrook
St. Stephen, Coleman-ſtreet
St. Mildred, Bread-ſtreet
St. Magnus, London-bridge
St. Foſter's Church
St. Mildred, Poultry
St. Chriſtopher
St. Dunſtan in the Eaſt
St. Mary, Aldermary
St. Sepulchre's
The Monument
Cuſtom-houſe, London
Wincheſter Caſtle
Hampton-court (new part)
Chelſea-hoſpital
Greenwich-hoſpital
The Theatre at Oxford
Trinity-college library at Cambridge
The Chapel of Emanuel-college, Cambridge.

To theſe may be added the frontiſpiece of the Middle Temple near Fleet-ſtreet, erected in 1684. And all the renovations of Weſtminſter-abbey, which were made by Sir Chriſtopher from 1698, till his deceaſe in 1723, and ſince from deſigns formed by him. But beſides theſe, ſeveral other deſigns of buildings were drawn by him, that were not put in execution; particularly a deſign for rebuilding the palace of Whitehall, ſome time after the Reſtoration; and two deſigns for rebuilding Whitehall, after the fire at that palace in 1697. A large collection of his draughts and deſigns was purchaſed by the members of All-ſouls-college, which fill ſeveral large folios, and are depoſited in their library, which

which is adorned with a curious buſt of Sir Chriſtopher, who was a fellow of that college.

Sir Chriſtopher Wren was the author of ſeveral pieces, ſome of which have been publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, and others in the Parentalia, &c. and ſome of his productions are yet remaining in manuſcript.

*** *Authorities.* Ward's Lives of the Greſham Profeſſors. Gen. Biog. Dict. Britiſh Biog. vol. vii. 8vo. Critical View of the public buildings in London and Weſtminſter, edit. 1734.

THE LIFE OF

SIR ISAAC NEWTON

[A. D. 1642, to 1726.]

MR. ISAAC NEWTON, the father of our great philoſopher, was deſcended from an ancient family, which had its origin at Newton in Lancaſhire; but removing thence, was afterwards ſeated at Weſtby in Lincolnſhire; and about the year 1370, becoming poſſeſſed of the manor of Woolſthorpe, in the ſame county, fixed its reſidence upon that demeſne. Here this prodigy of philoſophical and mathematical learning was born on Chriſtmas-day, in 1642.

His father dying, left him lord of that manor, while he was yet a child; and a few years after, his mother engaged in a ſecond marriage; however, being a woman of good ſenſe, and of an ancient family herſelf, of the name of Aſcough, ſhe did not neglect to take a becoming care of her ſon's education; and at twelve years of age put him to the free ſchool at Grantham in the ſame county. It was not her deſign to breed him a ſcholar; therefore, after he had been at ſchool ſome years, he was taken home, that (being deprived, as he was, of his father) he might betimes get an inſight into his

his own affairs, and be able the ſooner to manage them himſelf. But upon trial the youth ſhewed ſo little diſpoſition to turn his thoughts that way, and at the ſame time ſtuck ſo cloſely to his books, that his mother concluded it beſt to let him purſue the bent of his own inclinations. For that purpoſe ſhe ſent him back to Grantham; whence, at eighteen years of age, he removed to Cambridge, where he was admitted into Trinity-college, in the year 1660.

The ſtudy of the mathematics had been introduced into the univerſity, in the beginning of this century. From that period, the elements of geometry and algebra became generally one branch of a tutor's lectures to his pupils; but particularly Mr. Newton, at his admiſſion, found Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Barrow, the moſt eminent mathematician of the time, fellow of his college. Mr. Lucas alſo dying ſhortly after, left by his will the appointment for founding his mathematical lecture; which was ſettled in 1663, and Mr. Barrow choſen the firſt profeſſor.

Our author, therefore, by thus turning his thoughts to the mathematics, ſeems to have done no more than fall in, as well with his own particular ſituation, as with the general taſte of that time; but then it is univerſally confeſſed, he did it with a genius that was ſuperior to all that ever went before him.

For a beginning, he took up Euclid's Elements; he run his eye over the book, and at ſight was maſter of every propoſition in it. This done, the youthful vigour of his underſtanding would not ſuffer him to ſtay and ſit down, in order to contemplate the ſingular excellence in that author's elegant manner of demonſtrating, whereby the whole ſeries and connection of the truths advanced is continually kept in view, up to their firſt principles. This neglect, however, he was ſenſible of in his riper age; but his ingenuity in confeſſing an error, which otherwiſe nobody could have ſurmiſed, and that too after he was grown equally full of years

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and honour, by ſetting out in another way, was, in him, only a ſlender inſtance of a moſt amiable ſimplicity of diſpoſition.

The truth is, when he firſt went to college, Des Cartes was all the vogue. That eminent mathematician and philoſopher had greatly extended the bounds of algebra, in the way of expreſſing geometrical lines by algebraical equations, and thereby had introduced a new method of treating geometry.

Our author ſtruck into this new analytical way, and preſently ſaw to the end of the fartheſt advances made by Des Cartes; but having ſounded the depth of that author's underſtanding, without feeling the extenſive power of his own, he proceeded to read thoſe pieces of Dr. Wallis which were then printed, and particularly his "Arithmetica Infinitorum." Here our author firſt found that matter which ſet his boundleſs invention to work; and let him by degrees to the invention of his "New Method of Infinite Series and Fluxions;" which, after about two years cloſe application to the beſt mathematical authors then extant, he completed and made public in 1665; and the ſame year he took the degree of bachelor of arts.

About this time he obſerved, that the greateſt mathematical profeſſors were buſied in finding out improvements to teleſcopes, and he threw aſide all abſtracted ſpeculations, to engage in this more uſeful ſtudy.

Des Cartes, in his dioptrics, the beſt of his performances in philoſophy, taking up with the commonly received opinion, that light was homogeneous, had, upon this principle, firſt diſcovered the laws of refraction, and demonſtrated, that the perfecting of teleſcopes depended on finding out the way of making the glaſſes in elliptic, parabolic, or hyperbolic figures.

This had ſet our eminent men to work, and amongſt others Mr. (afterwards Sir Chriſtopher) Wren, who had juſt made conſiderable advances towards complet-

ing this ſo uſeful an invention, as it was then thought to be.

Mr. Newton, therefore, whoſe private affairs had drawn him into Lincolnſhire for a ſhort time, no ſooner got back to college, than he applied himſelf, in the year 1666, to the grinding of optic glaſſes of other figures than ſpherical, having no diſtruſt as yet of the homogeneous nature of light; but not hitting preſently upon any thing in this attempt, which ſucceeded to his mind, he procured a glaſs priſm, in order to try the celebrated phænomena of colours, not long before diſcovered by Grimaldi.

He was much pleaſed at firſt with viewing the vivid brightneſs of the colours produced by this experiment; but after a while, applying himſelf to conſider them in a philoſophical way, with that circumſpection which was natural to him, he became immediately ſurpriſed to ſee them in an oblong form; which, according to the received rule of refractions, ought to have been circular; yet at firſt he thought the irregularity might poſſibly be no more than accidental; but this was a queſtion he could not leave without further ſatisfaction: he therefore preſently invented an infallible method of deciding it, and this produced his "New Theory of Light and Colours."

However, the theory alone, unexpected and ſurpriſing as the diſcovery was, did not ſatisfy him; he rather conſidered the proper uſe that might be made for improving teleſcopes: which was his firſt deſign.

To this end, having now diſcovered light not to be homogeneal, but an heterogeneous mixture of differently refrangible rays, he computed the errors ariſing from this different refrangibility; and finding them to exceed ſome hundreds of times thoſe occaſioned by the circular figure of the glaſſes, he laid aſide his glaſs-works, and took reflections into conſideration.

He now underſtood, that optical inſtruments might be brought to any degree of perfection imaginable, provided

provided a reflecting ſubſtance could be found, which would poliſh as finely as glaſs, and reflect as much light as glaſs tranſmits; and the art of giving it a parabolic figure be alſo obtained. But theſe ſeemed to him very great difficulties; nay, he almoſt thought them inſuperable, when he farther conſidered, that every irregularity, in a reflecting ſuperficies, makes the rays ſtray five or ſix times more from their due courſe, than the like irregularities in a refracting one.

Amidſt theſe thoughts, he was forced from Cambridge by the plague: and it was more than two years before he made any farther progreſs on the ſubject. However, he was far from paſſing away the hours in a negligence of thought in the country; on the contrary, it was here, at this time, that he firſt ſtarted the hint that gave riſe to the ſyſtem of the world; which is the main ſubject of his "Principia."

The conſideration of accelerated motion, in the Method of Fluxions above mentioned, which he was ſtill improving, unavoidably led his thoughts to the ſubject of gravity, the effect of which is an inſtance of that motion in nature. And now, as he ſat in a garden alone in the country, he very naturally fell into ſome reflections on the power of this principle; that, as this power is not found ſenſibly diminiſhed, at the remoteſt diſtance from the centre of the earth to which we can riſe, neither at the tops of the loftieſt buildings, nor on the ſummits of the higheſt mountains, it appeared to him reaſonable to conclude, that this power muſt extend much farther than was uſually thought. Why not as high as the moon? ſaid he to himſelf; and, if ſo, her motion muſt be influenced by it; perhaps ſhe is retained in her orbit thereby; however, though the power of gravity is not ſenſibly weakened, in the little change of diſtance at which we can place ourſelves from the centre of the earth, yet it is very poſſible, that, as high as the moon, this power may differ much in ſtrength from what it is here.

To make an eſtimate, what might be the degree of this diminution, he conſidered with himſelf, that, if the moon be retained in her orbit by the force of gravity, no doubt the primary planets are carried round the ſun by the like power; and, by comparing the periods of the ſeveral planets with their diſtances from the ſun, he found, that if any power like gravity held them in their courſes, its ſtrength muſt decreaſe in the duplicate proportion of the increaſe of diſtance.

This he concluded, by ſuppoſing them to move in perfect circles concentrical to the ſun, from which the orbits of the greateſt part of them do not much differ. Suppoſing therefore the power of gravity, when extended to the moon, to decreaſe in the ſame manner, he computed, whether that force would be ſufficient to keep the moon in her orbit.

In this computation, being abſent from books, he took the common eſtimate, in uſe among geographers and our ſeamen, before Norwood had meaſured the earth, that ſixty Engliſh miles complete one degree of latitude; but, as this is a very faulty ſuppoſition, each degree containing about ſixty-nine Engliſh miles and an half, his computation upon it did not make the power of gravity, decreaſing in a duplicate proportion to the diſtance, anſwerable to the power which retained the moon in her orbit; whence he concluded, that ſome other cauſe muſt at leaſt join with the action of the power of gravity on the moon. For this reaſon, he laid aſide, for that time, any farther thoughts upon the matter.

An eaſineſs ſo reſigned, as to give up a favourite opinion, founded upon the beſt aſtronomical obſervations of the whole planetary ſyſtem, is an illuſtrious proof of a temper exactly fitted for philoſophical inquiries.

Mr. Voltaire relates it, as an anecdote of particular uſe in the hiſtory of the human mind; as it ſhews at once, both how great an exactneſs is neceſſary in theſe ſciences,

ſciences, and likewiſe how diſintereſted Mr. Newton was in his ſearch after truth.

It is indeed a little ſurpriſing, that he ſhould not then be acquainted with Mr. Norwood's Menſuration, which was made in 1635; and ſeems to be more ſo ſtill, that he did not inform himſelf when he returned to Cambridge, which he did ſhortly after. In the year 1667, he was choſen fellow of his college, and took the degree of maſter of arts. His thoughts were now again engaged upon his newly projected teleſcope by reflection; which, being a very uſeful invention, he was moſt deſirous to complete: and, in 1668, having conſidered what Mr. James Gregory propoſed in his "Optica Promota," concerning ſuch a teleſcope, with a hole in the midſt of the object-metal, to tranſmit the light to an eye-glaſs placed behind it, he thought the diſadvantages would be ſo great, that he reſolved, before he put any thing in practice, to alter Mr. Gregory's deſign, and place the eye-glaſs at the ſide of the tube, rather than in the middle; he then made a ſmall inſtrument, with an object-metal ſpherically concave: but this was only a rude eſſay; the chief defect lay in wanting a good poliſh for the metal. This therefore he ſet himſelf to find out, when Dr. Barrow reſigning the mathematical chair at Cambridge to him, in November 1669, the buſineſs of that profeſſorſhip interrupted his attention to the teleſcope.

In the mean time, an unexpected occaſion drew from our author a diſcovery of the vaſt improvements he had made in geometry, by the help of his new analyſis.

Lord viſcount Brounker, the year before, had publiſhed a quadrature of the hyperbola in an infinite ſeries; which, by the help of Dr. Wallis's diviſion, was ſoon after demonſtrated by Mr. Nicholas Mercator, in his "Logarithmotechnica," in 1668.

This being the firſt appearance of a ſeries of this ſort, drawn from the particular nature of the curve, expreſſed in an abſtracted algebraical equation, and that in a

manner very new, the book preſently came into the hands of Dr. Barrow, then at Trinity-college; who having, upon another occaſion, been informed ſome time before by Mr. Newton, that he had a general method of drawing tangents, communicated this invention of Mercator's to that fellow-collegian: upon ſight of which, our author brought him thoſe papers of his own, that contained his "Analyſis per æquationes numero terminorum infinitas."

The doctor peruſing it ſtood amazed at the prodigious performance, and immediately acquainted his friend Mr. Collins with it; at whoſe requeſt he afterwards obtained leave of Mr. Newton to ſend him the papers. Mr. Collins taking a copy before he returned the treaſure, thence got the means of diſperſing other tranſcripts to all the moſt eminent of his mathematical acquaintance. But, notwithſtanding this, it was not till many years afterwards, that the full extent to which our author had carried the invention came to be well underſtood.

Mr. Fontenelle obſerves, that it was natural to expect, that Mr. Newton, upon ſeeing Mercator's book, would have been forward to open his treaſure, and thereby ſecure to himſelf the glory of being the firſt diſcoverer. But this was not his way of thinking; on the contrary, we know, from his own words, that he thought Mercator had intirely diſcovered his ſecret; or that others would, before he was of a proper age for writing to the public. The empty name barely of doing what nobody elſe could do, he looked upon as a child's bauble; his views were much higher, and more noble; he thought to build his fame upon a more ſubſtantial foundation.

Theſe ſpeculative inventions, therefore, however ingenious, were kept by him as neceſſary tools and implements in his reſearches into the works of Nature; there he knew they would be of uſe to him; and he knew too how to uſe them there to advantage; and

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in theſe views only it was, that he ſet any particular value upon them. Nay, he was now actually making this uſe of them, in diſcovering the properties and unravelling the ſubtle actions of light.

As his thoughts had been for ſome time chiefly employed upon optics, he made his diſcoveries in that ſcience the ſubject of his lectures, for the three firſt years after he was appointed mathematical profeſſor.

He had not finiſhed theſe lectures, when he was choſen fellow of the Royal Society in January 1672; and, having now brought his theory of light and colours to a great degree of perfection, he communicated it to that ſociety firſt, to have their judgment upon it; and it was afterwards publiſhed in their tranſactions of February, 1672.

But, notwithſtanding all this precaution, which was taken in preparing it for public view, yet it was ſo abſolutely new and unexpected, ſo totally ſubverſive of all men's ſettled opinions in this matter; ſuch a nice degree of accuracy and exactneſs was neceſſary in making the experiments upon which it was founded, and the reaſoning alſo upon thoſe experiments was ſo very ſubtle and penetrating, that it no ſooner went abroad into the world, than it found oppoſers in all quarters wherever it appeared.

Our author was thus unexpectedly drawn into various diſputes about it; which, being for the moſt part occaſioned, either by too much haſtineſs in trying his experiments, or elſe by reaſoning wrongly upon them, were very grievous to him.

He had ſpent eight years in repeating the experiments which aſcertained the truth of the fact, and now thought to oblige the world, by diſcloſing one of the moſt hidden ſecrets of Nature; and there was room to expect the benefaction would have been received with all imaginable gratitude: but, ſteeped as they were in error, the diſcovery ſeems to have been conſtrued into a reproach of their ignorance; and they ſuffered for it.

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By this ſpecimen, the great inventor clearly ſaw what would be the conſequence of giving the reſt of his theory, where he knew there muſt appear ſo many yet more amazingly ſevere truths.

For this reaſon, he laid by his optical lectures, after he had prepared them for the preſs, with a deſign to publiſh them; and as he had referred, for the demonſtrations of ſome things therein, to his Analyſis by Infinite Series; his intention was, that the lectures ſhould be accompanied with it: for which purpoſe he had enlarged and reviſed it, and caſt it into a better form. He had likewiſe illuſtrated it with a great variety of examples, and ſet the whole Method of Fluxions intirely in a new light. However, he had not completed his whole deſign, before the decree againſt publication was paſſed; for he had thought of adding the manner of reſolving ſuch problems as could not be reduced to quadratures, which he never completed.

In this conduct, our author evidently acted againſt his own fame; but that motive had little weight with him, when thrown in the balance againſt the ſweet enjoyment of an unruffled ſerenity of thought; a bleſſing which he valued above all the glory that mathematics or philoſophy could heap upon him.

In this diſpoſition of mind he reſumed his reflecting teleſcope, the moſt immediately uſeful part of his optics; and obſerving that there was no abſolute neceſſity for the parabolic figure of the glaſſes (ſince, if metals could be ground truly ſpherical, they would bear as great apertures as men would be able to give a poliſh to), he completed another inſtrument of this kind; which, anſwering the purpoſe ſo well, as, though it was only ſix inches long, yet he had ſeen, with it, Jupiter diſtinctly round, as alſo his four ſatellites, and Venus horned, he ſent it to the Royal Society at their requeſt, together with a deſcription of it; which was afterwards publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the year 1672, No. 81.

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There are likewiſe, in the two immediately ſubſequent numbers, ſeveral farther obſervations and particulars relating to this new invention, communicated by him, in the view of ſeconding the deſign of the ſociety, to recommend it to ſome ſkilful artiſts, for farther improvement, with reſpect to the two particulars which were ſtill wanting, a proper compoſition of metal, and a good poliſh; in conſequence of which the ſociety made ſeveral attempts, but without ſucceſs.

The ſame year, he publiſhed at Cambridge, in 8vo. "*Bernardi Varenii Geographia Generalis, in qua Affectiones Generales Telluris explicantur, aucta & illuſtrata ab Iſ. Newton.*"

About this time he had likewiſe ſome thoughts of publiſhing Kinchuyſen's Algebra, but afterwards dropped that deſign.

In 1675, Mr. Hooke laying claim to ſome of his inventions, in his "New Theory of Light and Colours," he aſſerted his right thereunto with a becoming ſpirit; and, the following year, at the requeſt of Mr. Leibnitz, he wrote two letters to be communicated to him, wherein he explained his invention of Infinite Series, and took notice how far he had improved it by his Method of Fluxions; which, however, he ſtill concealed, by a tranſpoſition of the letters into an alphabetical order, that made up the two fundamental problems of it. This was done, that he might be at liberty to alter his method in ſome things, in caſe any body elſe ſhould find it out.

In the winter between 1676 and 1677, he found the grand propoſition, that, by a centripetal force reciprocally as the ſquare of the diſtance, a planet muſt revolve in an ellipſis about the centre of force placed in the lower focus of the ellipſis, and, with a radius drawn to that centre, deſcribe areas proportional to the times.

In 1680, he made ſeveral aſtronomical obſervations upon the comet that then appeared; which, for ſome conſiderable time, he took not to be one and the ſame,

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but two different comets, againſt the opinion of Mr. Flamſteed.

However, the conſequences of the theory of centripetal and centrifugal forces being the ſubject of much inquiry about this time, he received a letter from Mr. Hooke, explaining what muſt be the line deſcribed by a falling body, ſuppoſed to be moved circularly by the diurnal motion of the earth, and perpendicularly by the power of gravity.

This letter put Mr. Newton upon inquiring, what was the real figure in which ſuch a body moved; and this inquiry gave occaſion to his reſuming his former thoughts concerning the moon: and Picart having, not long before, viz. in 1679, meaſured a degree of the earth, by uſing his meaſures, the moon appeared to be retained in her orbit purely by the power of gravity; and, conſequently, that this power decreaſes in the duplicate proportion of the diſtance, as he had formerly conjectured.

Upon this principle, he found the line deſcribed by a falling body to be an ellipſis, the centre of the earth being one focus; and finding, by this means, that the primary planets really moved in ſuch orbits as Kepler had gueſſed, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee, that this inquiry, which he had undertaken at firſt out of mere curioſity, could be applied to the greateſt purpoſes. Hereupon he drew up near a dozen propoſitions, relating to the motion of the primary planets about the ſun; which were communicated to the Royal Society in the latter end of the year 1683.

Theſe propoſitions coming to the knowledge of Dr. Edmund Halley, the celebrated aſtronomer, that gentleman finding himſelf baffled in his attempts to demonſtrate this motion of the primary planets clearly, without his aſſiſtance, took a journey to Cambridge in Auguſt, 1684, in order to conſult Mr. Newton.

Our author preſently informed him, that he had abſolutely completed the much deſired demonſtration; and

and Dr. Halley, receiving it from him in November, made him a ſecond viſit at Cambridge; where he got his conſent, with ſome difficulty, to have it entered in the regiſter books of the Royal Society. After which, by Dr. Halley's importunity, and the requeſt of that Society, our author was prevailed with to finiſh the work.

The third book, being only a corollary of ſome propoſitions in the firſt, was then drawn up by him in the popular way, with a deſign to publiſh it in that form with the other two: but the manuſcript being preſented with a dedication to the Royal Society, in April, 1686, Mr. Hooke, very injuriouſly, inſiſted upon his having demonſtrated Kepler's problem before our author; whereupon, rather than be involved again in controverſy, he determined to ſuppreſs the third book, till his friends prevailed upon him to alter that reſolution. However, he was now convinced, that it would be beſt not to let it go abroad without ſtrict demonſtration.

The book was put to the preſs by the Society ſoon after Midſummer, 1686, under the care of Dr. Halley, then aſſiſtant ſecretary; and it came out about Midſummer, 1687, under the title of "*Philoſophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica.*"

From hence it appears, that this treatiſe, full of ſuch a variety of profound inventions, was compoſed from ſcarcely any other materials, than the few propoſitions before mentioned, in the ſpace of eighteen months.

The ſecond edition, with great additions and improvements by the author, was printed in 1713, 4to. under the direction of Mr. Roger Cotes, profeſſor of aſtronomy and experimental philoſophy in that univerſity; who prefixed a preface, giving an account of the philoſophy contained in the book, eſpecially with regard to the famed vortices of Des Cartes; which, though irrefragably refuted herein, ſtill had their abettors.

The

The third edition, with ſtill farther improvements by the author, was publiſhed at London, in 4to, under the care of Henry Pemberton, M. D.

This book, in which our author had built a new ſyſtem of natural philoſophy, upon the moſt ſublime geometry, did not meet at firſt with all the applauſe it deſerved, and was one day to receive. Two reaſons concurred in producing this effect: Des Cartes had then gotten full poſſeſſion of the world; his Philoſophy was, indeed, the creature of a fine imagination, gaily dreſſed in a tempting metaphorical ſtyle; he had given her, likewiſe, ſome of Nature's true features, and painted the reſt to a reſemblance of Nature's likeneſs, with a ſmiling countenance; beſides whatever ſhe ſaid was eaſily underſtood; and thus ſhe yielded herſelf up, without any great difficulty, to her votaries. Upon theſe accounts, people, in general even took unkindly an attempt to awake them out of ſo pleaſing a dream.

On the other hand, Mr. Newton had, with an unparalleled penetration, purſued Nature up to her moſt ſecret abodes, and was intent to demonſtrate her reſidence to others, rather than anxious to point out the way by which he arrived at it himſelf. He finiſhed his piece with that elegant conciſeneſs which had juſtly gained the ancients an univerſal eſteem. Indeed the conſequences flow with ſuch rapidity from the principles, that the reader is often left to ſupply a long chain to connect them; therefore it required ſome time before the world could underſtand it; the beſt mathematicians were obliged to ſtudy it with care, before they could be maſters of it; and thoſe of a lower claſs durſt not ventnre upon it, till encouraged by the teſtimonies of the moſt learned; but, at laſt, when its worth came to be ſufficiently known, the approbation, which had been ſo ſlowly gained, became univerſal; and nothing was to be heard from all quarters but one general ſhout of admiration.

"Does Mr. Newton eat, or drink, or ſleep, like other

other men?" ſays the marquis l'Hopital, one of the greateſt mathematicians of the age, to the Engliſhmen who viſited him; "I repreſent him to myſelf as a celeſtial genius, intirely diſengaged from matter."

In the midſt of all theſe profound, philoſophical reſearches, juſt before his Principia went to the preſs, the privileges of the univerſity being attacked by king James II. our great philoſopher appeared among the moſt hearty aſſertors and defenders of them; and was, accordingly, one of the delegates to the high-commiſſion-court; where the ſteady defence they made was ſo unexpected, that the king thought proper to drop the affair

After this he was choſen one of the univerſity repreſentatives in the Convention Parliament, in 1688, in which he attended till its diſſolution.

Charles Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax, ſat likewiſe, for the firſt time, in that parliament; and, being bred at the ſame college, was well acquainted with our author's abilities; and undertaking the great work of re-coining the money when he became chancellor of the exchequer, he obtained of the king, for Mr. Newton, in 1696, the office of warden of the mint.

This poſt put him in a capacity of doing ſignal ſervices in that affair, which was of ſo great importance to the nation: and, three years after, he was promoted to be maſter of the mint, a place worth from 1200 l. to 1500 l. per annum, which he held till his death.

Upon this promotion, he appointed Mr. William Whiſton, then maſter of arts, at Clarehall, his deputy in the mathematical profeſſorſhip at Cambridge; giving him the full profits of the place; and, not long after, he procured him to be his ſucceſſor in that poſt.

The Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, having, this year made a new regulation for admitting foreigners into that ſociety, Mr. Newton was immediately elected a member of that academy.

In 1703, he was choſen preſident of the Royal So-

ciety; and he remained in that honourable ſtation to the time of his death.

In 1704, he publiſhed at London, in 4to. his "Optics; or, a Treatiſe of the Reflexions, Refractions, Inflexions, and Colours of Light." He had at times employed thirty years in bringing the experiments to that degree of certainty and exactneſs, which alone could ſatisfy himſelf. In reality, this ſeems to have been his favourite invention.

In the ſpeculations of infinite ſeries and fluxions, as alſo in his demonſtrations of the power of gravity in preſerving the ſolar ſyſtem, there had been ſome, though diſtant, hints, given by others before him; whereas, in the diſſecting a ray of light into its firſt conſtituent particles, which then admitted of no farther ſeparation; in the diſcovery of the different refrangibility of theſe particles thus ſeparated, and that theſe conſtituent rays had each its own peculiar colour inherent in it; that rays falling in the ſame angle of incidence have alternate fits of reflexion and refraction; that bodies are rendered tranſparent by the minuteneſs of their pores, and become opaque by having them large; and that the moſt tranſparent body, by having a great thinneſs, will become leſs pervious to the light: In all theſe, which made up his New Theory of Light and Colours, he was abſolutely and intirely the firſt ſtarter; and, as the ſubject is of the moſt ſubtle and delicate nature, he thought it neceſſary to be himſelf the laſt finiſher of it.

But his aſſiduous philoſophical reſearches, for ſo many years, were far from being confined to the ſubject of light alone: on the contrary, all that we know of natural bodies ſeemed to be comprehended in it; he had found out, that there was a mutual action at a diſtance between light and other bodies; by which both the reflexions and refractions, as well as inflexions of the former, were conſtantly produced.

To aſcertain the force and extent of this principle of action was what had all along engaged his thoughts;

and

and what, after all, by its extreme ſubtlety, eſcaped even his moſt penetrating ſpirit. However, though he has not made ſo full a diſcovery of this principle, which directs the courſe of light, as he has in relation to the power by which the planets are kept in their courſes; yet he gave the beſt directions poſſible for ſuch as might be inclined to carry on the work; and furniſhed matter abundantly enough to animate them to the purſuit. He has, indeed, hereby opened a way of paſſing from optics to an intire ſyſtem of phyſics; and, if we look upon his queries, as containing the hiſtory of a great man's firſt thoughts, even in that view, they muſt be entertaining and curious.

He was very anxious, that his true meaning in them ſhould be rightly underſtood, which was, to furniſh ſufficient motives for making farther inquiries; but, in the mean time, not to determine any thing: and, when Dr. Freind publiſhed his Lectures in Chymiſtry, a few years after, and in explaining the phenomena of chymical experiments, aſſumed the attraction for a principle, which, in the queries, was only ſtarted as a conjecture, our author complained of it as an injury done to him. Upon the ſame account it was, that, in the advertiſement prefixed to the Optics, he expreſſed a deſire, that his book might not be tranſlated into Latin without his conſent; and, when Dr. Clarke, who, to prevent others, immediately undertoook it, with his approbation, preſented the manuſcript to him, finding herein his ſenſe accurately expreſſed in elegant language, he was ſo much pleaſed with it, that he gave him 500l. or 100l. for each of his children.

Dr. Clarke's tranſlation was printed at London in 1706, 4to. and our author printing a ſecond edition of this book, with improvements, there, in 1718, 8vo. the ſecond edition of Dr. Clarke's tranſlation was likewiſe publiſhed in 1719, 4to. Mr. Peter Coſte tranſlated it into French from the ſecond edition.

The firſt edition of the Optics was accompanied with

his Quadrature of Curves by his New Analyſis; to which he ſubjoined, An Enumeration of the Lines of the Third Order: both contained under the following title, "Tractatus duo de Speciebus & Magnitudine Figurarum Curvilinearum." This was the firſt appearance in print of his method of Fluxions. It was apparently done upon the plan of his original intention in 1671, as has been mentioned. He declined to publiſh it then, on account of a controverſy, and it unluckily proved the occaſion of drawing him into another now.

In 1705, queen Anne, in conſideration of his extraordinary merit, conferred the honour of knighthood upon him.

In 1707, Mr. Whiſton, by our author's permiſſion, publiſhed his algebraical lectures under this title: "*Arithmetica Univerſalis, ſive de Compoſitione & Reſolutione Arithmeticæ Liber:*" and it was put into Engliſh by Mr. Ralphſon from this edition.

Sir Iſaac printed a ſecond edition, with improvements, under the care of Mr. Machin, profeſſor of aſtronomy at Greſham-college, and ſecretary to the Royal Society.

This work was another ſpecimen of the vaſt depth of our author's genius. Dr. Pemberton tells us, that he called this treatiſe by the name of Univerſal Arithmetic, in oppoſition to the injudicious title of Geometry, which Des Cartes has given to the treatiſe wherein he ſhews, how the geometer may aſſiſt his invention by ſuch kind of computations.

In 1711, our author's "*Analyſis per Quantitatum Series, Fluxiones & Differentias, cum Enumeratione Linearum Tertii Ordinis,*" was publiſhed at London, in 4to. by William Jones, Eſq. F. R. S. who met with a copy of the firſt of theſe pieces, among the papers of Mr. John Collins, to whom, as already mentioned, it had been communicated by Dr. Barrow, in 1669,

The publication of this book was occaſioned by the diſpute about the invention of the method of Fluxions; which

which likewiſe gave birth to the following work, undertaken by the conſent of Sir Iſaac, and printed the next year at London, in 4to. A collection of ſeveral letters by Sir Iſaac and others, in relation to that controverſy, under this title: "*Commercium Epiſtolicum D. Johannis Collins & aliorum, de Analyſi promota, juſſu Societatis Regiæ in lucem editum.*

In 1714, Mr. Humphrey Ditton, and Mr. William Whiſton, having propoſed and publiſhed a new method of diſcovering the longitude at ſea by ſignals, it was laid before the houſe of commons, to procure their encouragement: upon which a committee was appointed to take the matter into conſideration; who, ſending to Sir Iſaac Newton for his opinion, he immediately drew up the following paper, which was delivered to the committee on the 2d of June.

"For determining the longitude at ſea, there have been ſeveral projects, true in theory, but difficult to execute.

"I. One is by a watch, to keep time exactly; but, by reaſon of the motion of a ſhip, the variation of heat and cold, wet or dry, and the difference of gravity in different latitudes, ſuch a watch hath not yet been made.

"II. Another is by the eclipſes of Jupiter's ſatellites; but, by reaſon of the length of teleſcopes neceſſary to obſerve them, and the motion of a ſhip at ſea, thoſe eclipſes cannot yet be there obſerved.

"III. A third is by the place of the moon; but her theory is not yet exact enough for that purpoſe; it is exact enough to determine the longitude within two or three degrees, but not within a degree.

"IV. A fourth is Mr. Ditton's project; and this is rather for keeping an account of the longitude at ſea, than for finding it, if at any time it ſhould be loſt, as it may eaſily be in cloudy weather. How far this is practicable, and with what charge, they that are ſkilled in ſea affairs are beſt able to judge. In ſailing by this

this method, whenever they are to paſs over very deep ſeas, they muſt ſail due eaſt or weſt; they muſt firſt ſail into the latitude of the next place to which they are going, beyond it, and then keep due eaſt or weſt till they come at that place.

"In the three firſt ways there muſt be a watch regulated by a ſpring, and rectified every viſible ſun-riſe and ſun-ſet, to tell the hour of the day or night. In the fourth way ſuch a watch is not neceſſary. In the firſt way there muſt be two watches, this and the other above-mentioned. In any of the three firſt ways, it may be of ſervice to find the longitude within a degree, and of much more ſervice to find it within forty minutes, or half a degree, if it may; and the ſucceſs may deſerve rewards accordingly.

"In the fourth way, it is eaſier to enable ſeamen to know their diſtance and bearing from the ſhore, forty, ſixty, or eighty miles off, than to croſs the ſeas; and ſome part of the reward may be given, when the firſt is performed on the coaſt of Great Britain, for the ſafety of ſhips coming home; and the reſt when ſeamen ſhall be enabled to ſail to an aſſigned remote harbour, without loſing their longitude, if it may be."

Upon this opinion, the Houſe of Commons threw aſide the petitions of Ditton and Whiſton.

In 1715, Mr. Leibnitz, intending to bring the world more eaſily into a belief, that Sir Iſaac had taken the method of Fluxions from his differential method, thought to foil his mathematical ſkill by the famous problem of the Trajectories, which he therefore propoſed to the Engliſh by way of challenge. But the ſolution of this, though it was the moſt difficult propoſition his antagoniſt could think of, after a great deal of ſtudy, and which, indeed, might paſs for a conſiderable performance in another, yet was hardly any more than an amuſement to Sir Iſaac. He received the problem at four o'clock in the evening, as he was returning from the mint; and, though he was extremely

fatigued

fatigued with buſineſs, yet he finiſhed the ſolution of it before he went to bed.

As Mr. Leibnitz was privy-counſellor of juſtice to the elector of Hanover, when that prince was raiſed to the Britiſh throne, Sir Iſaac came to be taken particular notice of at court, and it was for the immediate ſatisfaction of king George I. that he was prevailed with to put the laſt hand to the diſpute, about the invention of Fluxions.

In this court, the princeſs of Wales, afterwards queen-conſort to his late majeſty, king George II. happened to have a curioſity, which led her particularly to look into philoſophical inquiries. No ſooner, therefore, was ſhe informed of Sir Iſaac's attachment to the houſe of Hanover, than ſhe engaged his converſation, which preſently endeared him to her. Here ſhe found, in every difficulty, that full ſatisfaction which ſhe had in vain ſought for elſewhere; and her highneſs was often heard to declare in public, that ſhe thought herſelf happy in coming into the world at a juncture of time which put it in her power to converſe with him.

Amongſt other things, Sir Iſaac one day acquainted her highneſs with his thoughts upon ſome points of chronology, and communicated to her what he had formerly wrote, purely for his own amuſement, upon that ſubject. But the plan appeared to be ſo unexpectedly new and ingenious, that ſhe could not be ſatisfied, till he promiſed her to complete a work, ſhe found ſo happily begun.

Not long after, about the year 1718, the princeſs begged ſhe might have a copy of theſe papers. Sir Iſaac repreſented to her highneſs, that they lay very confuſed; and, beſides, what he had written therein was imperfect; but in a few days, he could draw up an abſtract thereof, if it might be kept ſecret. Some time after he had done this, and preſented it, ſhe deſired that Signior Conti, a Venetian nobleman, then in England, might have a copy of it. This was a requeſt

queſt which could not be denied, eſpecially as the condition of ſecrecy was readily promiſed.

Notwithſtanding this promiſe, Conti, who, during his ſtay in England, had always affected to ſhew a particular friendſhip for Sir Iſaac, no ſooner got croſs the water into France, but he diſperſed copies of it; and got an antiquary to tranſlate it into French, and to write a confutation of it. This was printed at Paris in 1727; after which, a copy of the tranſlation only, without the remarks, under this title, "*Abrege de Chronologie de M. le Chevalier Newton, fait par lui-meme & traduit ſur le manuſcript Anglois,*" was delivered, as a preſent, from the bookſeller that printed it, to our author, in order to obtain his conſent to the publication; which, though expreſsly denied by him, yet the whole was publiſhed not long after in the ſame year.

Upon this, Sir Iſaac publiſhed, in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 316, vol. xxxiv. p. 315, "Remarks upon the Obſervations made upon a Chronological Index of Sir Iſaac Newton, tranſlated into French by the Obſervator, and publiſhed at Paris."

About the year 1722, this incomparable man, being then in the 80th year of his age, was ſeized with an incontinence of urine, thought to proceed from the ſtone in the bladder, and judged to be incurable: however, by the help of a ſtrict regimen, and other precautions, which till then he never had occaſion for, he procured great intervals of eaſe during the remaining five years of his life; yet he was not free from ſome ſevere paroxyſms, which even occaſioned large drops of ſweat to run down his face.

Under theſe circumſtances he was never ſeen to utter the leaſt complaint, nor expreſs the leaſt impatience; and as ſoon as he had a moment's eaſe, he would ſmile and talk with his uſual chearfulneſs. Till this time, he had always read and wrote ſeveral hours in a day, but he was now obliged to rely upon Mr. Conduit, for the diſcharge of his office in the Mint.

On

On Saturday morning, March 18. 1726, he read the news-papers, and diſcourſed a long time with Dr. Mead, his phyſician, having then the perfect uſe of all his ſenſes and his underſtanding; but that night he intirely loſt them all; and, not recovering them after, he died on the Monday following.

His body lay in ſtate in the Jeruſalem chamber, and, on the 28th of March, was conveyed to Weſtminſter abbey, the lord-chancellor, the dukes of Montroſe and Roxburgh, and the earls of Pembroke, Suſſex, and Macclesfield, holding up the pall. The corpſe was interred juſt at the entrance into the choir, on the left hand, where a ſtately monument was erected to his memory, upon which is the following elegant inſcription:

H. S. E.
ISAACUS NEWTON, Eques Auratus,
Qui, animi vi prope divina,
Planetarum motus, figuras,
Cometarum ſemitas, Oceanique æſtus,
Sua mathefi facem præferente,
Primus demonſtravit.
Radiorum lucis diſſimilitudines,
Colorumque inde naſcentium proprietates,
Quas nemo antea ſuſpicatus erat, perveſtigavit.
Naturæ, Antiquitatis, S. Scripturæ,
Sedulus, ſagax, fidus interpres,
Dei Opt. Max. majeſtatem philoſophia aſſeruit,
Evangelii ſimplicitatem moribus expreſſit.
Sibi gratulentur mortales, tale tantumque extitiſſe
HUMANI GENERIS DECUS.
Natus XXV. Decemb. MDCXLII.
Obiit XX. Martii, MDCCXXVI.

As to his perſon, he was of a middling ſtature, and ſomewhat inclined to be fat in the latter part of his life. His countenance was pleaſing and venerable at the ſame time, eſpecially when he took off his peruke,

and ſhowed his white hair, which was pretty thick. He loſt but one tooth, and never made uſe of ſpectacles during his whole life; which perhaps might be the ground for M. Fontenelle's ſaying, in a kind of panegyric, that he had a very lively and piercing eye. For biſhop Atterbury, who ſeems to have obſerved it more critically, aſſures us, that, "This did not belong to him, at leaſt not for twenty years paſt, about which time (ſays the biſhop), I became acquainted with him. Indeed, in the whole air of his face and make, there was nothing of that penetrating ſagacity which appears in his compoſitions; he had ſomething rather languid in his look and manner, which did not raiſe any great expectation, in thoſe who did not know him."

His character has been drawn by Fontenelle, and by Dr. Pemberton, from whom we ſhall chiefly ſelect what is neceſſary to complete the memoirs of our illuſtrious philoſopher.

In contemplating his profound genius, it preſently becomes a doubt, which of theſe endowments had the greateſt ſhare in his compoſition; ſagacity, penetration, ſtrength, or diligence. But he himſelf ſpoke of his own abilities with great modeſty.

One day, when one of his friends had ſaid ſome handſome things of his extraordinary talents, Sir Iſaac, in an eaſy and unaffected way, aſſured him, that, for his own part, he was ſenſible, that, whatever he had done worth notice was owing to a patience of thought, rather than to any extraordinary ſagacity, which he was endowed with above other men. "I keep the ſubject conſtantly before me, and wait till the firſt dawnings open ſlowly, by little and little, into a full and clear light."

The readineſs of his invention made him not think of putting his memory much to the trial; but this was the offspring of a vigorous intenſeneſs of thought, out of which he was but a common man. He ſpent, therefore,

fore, the prime of his age in theſe abſtruſe reſearches, when his ſituation in a college gave him leiſure, and even while ſtudy was his proper profeſſion: but, as ſoon as he was removed to the mint, he applied himſelf chiefly to the buſineſs of that office; and ſo far quitted mathematics and philoſophy, as not to engage in any new purſuits of either kind afterwards.

Dr. Pemberton tells us, that he found Sir Iſaac had read fewer of the modern mathematicians, than one could have expected; but his own prodigious invention readily ſupplied him, with what he might have occaſion for, in any ſubject he undertook. He often cenſured the handling geometrical ſubjects by algebraic calculations; and frequently praiſed Sluſius, Barrow, and Huygens, for not being influenced by the bad taſte which then began to prevail. He uſed to commend the laudable attempt of Hugo de Omerique, to reſtore the ancient analyſis, and very much eſteemed Apollonius's book "*De Sectione Rationis*," for giving us a clearer notion of that analyſis than we had before. He particularly recommended Huygens for his ſtyle, as being, he thought, the moſt elegant of any mathematical writer of modern times, and the moſt juſt imitator of the ancients; of whoſe taſte, and form of demonſtration, Sir Iſaac always profeſſed himſelf a great admirer.

Dr. Pemberton likewiſe obſerves, that his memory was much decayed in the laſt years of his life; yet the common report, that he did not then underſtand his own works, was intirely groundleſs. This opinion might, perhaps, ariſe from his not being always ready to ſpeak on theſe ſubjects, when it might have been expected he ſhould. But this the doctor imputes to an abſence commonly obſerved in men of great genius.

He had likewiſe a natural modeſty and meekneſs of diſpoſition, which evinced itſelf ſtrongly in his conduct to Leibnitz; but he was not totally inſenſible of injuries, and, after having been ſo perfidiouſly treated by Conti, his cuſtomary caution increaſed into a habit

of reſerve, which bordered upon miſtruſt, and was taken amiſs by men of integrity, whoſe great and ſimilar talents intitled them to free communications of his ſuperior knowledge.

Another conſequence of his native modeſty was, that he never talked either of himſelf or others, nor ever behaved in ſuch a manner, as to give the moſt malicious cenſurers the leaſt occaſion even to ſuſpect him of vanity. He was candid and affable, and always put himſelf upon a level with his company. He never thought either his merit or reputation ſufficient to excuſe him from any of the common offices of ſocial life. No ſingularities, either natural or affected, diſtinguiſhed him from other men.

With reſpect to his religious ſentiments, though he was firmly attached to the church of England, he was averſe to the perſecution of the Non-Conformiſts. He judged of men by their manners; and the true Schiſmatics, in his opinion, were the vicious and the wicked. Not that he confined his principles to natural religion, for he was thoroughly perſuaded of the truth of Revelation; and, amidſt the great variety of books which he had conſtantly before him, that which he ſtudied with the greateſt application was the Bible.

He did not neglect the opportunity of doing good, which the revenues of his patrimony, and a profitable employment, improved by a prudent economy, put into his power. When decency upon any occaſion required expence and ſhew, he was magnificent without grudging it, and with a very good grace. At other times, that pomp, which ſeems great to low minds only, was intirely retrenched, and the expence reſerved for better uſes.

He never married, and, perhaps he never had leiſure to think of it. Being immerſed in profound ſtudies during the prime of his age, and afterwards engaged in an employment of great importance, and even quite taken up with the company which his merit drew to him,

him, he was not ſenſible of any vacancy in life, nor of the want of a companion at home.——He left 32,000l. at his death, but made no will; which, Mr. Fontenelle tells us, was, becauſe he thought a legacy was no gift.

After Sir Iſaac's death, there were found among his papers ſeveral diſcourſes upon ſubjects of Antiquity, Hiſtory, Divinity, Chemiſtry, and Mathematics. Some of theſe have been publiſhed.

Beſides thoſe already mentioned, in 1727, appeared a table of the aſſays of foreign coins, drawn up by him, and publiſhed at the end of Dr. Arbuthnot's book on that ſubject. And the next year came abroad his Chronology under this title: "The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms amended: to which is prefixed a Short Chronicle, from the firſt Memory of Things in Europe, to the Conqueſt of Perſia by Alexander the Great. By Sir Iſaac Newton. Dedicated to the queen, by Mr. Conduit."

After this, came out his "Obſervations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypſe of St. John," in 4to. London, 1733. Though this appears to be a very unfiniſhed piece, yet there are ſeen ſome ſtrokes in it, which diſcover the hands of its great maſter. Among other things, he has ſhewn the exact duration of our Saviour's miniſtry upon earth, by a ſtrict demonſtration: a difficulty which had mocked the efforts of the beſt writers before him.

In 1734, Dr. Berkeley, biſhop of Cloyne, in Ireland, in a piece, intituled, "The Analyſt," attacked his method of Fluxions, as being obſcure and unintelligible; ſince the doctrine of moments, upon which it was founded, neceſſarily involved a notion of infinity, whereof we can form no comprehenſible or adequate idea; and which, therefore, ought to be excluded from all geometrical diſquiſitions. This gave riſe to a controverſy, which occaſioned the republication of our author's Method of Fluxions, and Analyſis by Infinite Series.

The treatiſe, being written in Latin, was tranſlated into

into Engliſh, and printed in 1736, in 4to, with a perpetual commentary, by Mr. John Colſon, afterwards profeſſor of mathematics at Cambridge; wherein, among other things, he inſerted "A defence of the Method againſt the Objections of Dr. Berkeley.

In 1737, was printed an Engliſh tranſlation of a Latin Diſſertation upon the Sacred Cubit of the Jews, written by Sir Iſaac. It was found ſubjoined to a work of his not finiſhed, intituled, "Lexicon Propheticum."

Laſtly, in 1756, there were publiſhed, in 8vo, Four Letters from Sir Iſaac Newton to Dr. Bentley; containing ſome Arguments in Proof of a Deity.

*** *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Pemberton's Review of Sir Iſaac Newton's Philoſophy. Birch's Hiſt. of the Royal Society. Whiſton's Memoirs.

BRITISH 28 MAY 72 MUSEUM

THE END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.